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WISCONSIN
Lib State Historical Soc

A RED LETTER NIGHT

FOR THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY IN CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Rousing Meeting on the Public Square Address by Henry Poelling, of St. Louis, and John Goerke, Candidate for Governor of Ohio.

Cleveland, O., Aug. 22.—Wednesday night, August 19, was a red-letter night for the Socialist Labor Party of Cleveland. Comrade Henry Poelling of St. Louis addressed a meeting under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party on the public square that night. He is a forcible and eloquent speaker. A crowd of 200 or 300 listened intently to what he had to say.

At one time during the progress of his address a policeman interrupted him to ask him for a permit to speak. Poelling declared that he had none, and that no one needed a permit to indulge in freedom of speech. The policeman said no more, and the meeting went on without any further interruptions. During his speech there was frequent applause and laughter, and the crowd was evidently with the speaker.

Poelling said among other things that he was brought up in a chair factory, or in other words, as he explained it, he was put to work in a chair factory as soon as he was old enough to throw stones at passing wagons. He declared that we were not reformers, but revolutionists, and that we would not stop until the mines, mills and factories became the common property of all the people.

After Comrade Poelling ceased speaking, Comrade John G. Goerke took the platform and made one of his best speeches. I venture the assertion that neither the Republican nor Democratic candidates for governor, with all their advantages of wealth and leisure, will make either as eloquent or witty a speech as did John D. Goerke, the shoemaker candidate for governor on that memorable 19th of August.

Comrade Goerke said that if when he got to heaven he found a few angels hogging everything he would organize a Socialist Labor Party there and give them a battle royal. He roasted the Salvation Army for lining up "men of the slums" and taking care of them during the winter, only to turn them loose in the spring to "scab" on workingmen when on strike. He stated that the labor fakir leaders wanted peace between labor and capital. Comrade Goerke said that the only peace that the labor fakirs would attain would be the peace between the lamb and the lion, when the lamb was in the belly of the lion.

Goerke also paid his respects to Gompers, when he told of Gompers and Hanna sitting together at the same banquet table and talking together of peace between capital and labor over broken champagne bottles. He also gave Tobin a whirl when he said that Tobin "unionized" factories in a most disreputable way. He stated that Tobin would go to the shoe manufacturers and tell them that he wished them to "unionize" their factories; that there would be no increasing of wages, shortening of hours or bettering of conditions for their employes.

Goerke said that Tobin would then say to the shoe manufacturer: "Now, all I ask of you is that you compel every man in your employ to join this 'union' and pay into the 'union' treasury 25 cents a week. In return for this I will allow you to use the shoeworkers' label, and will boom your goods, advertise you as a good 'union' manufacturer, and thus extend your market and increase the sale of your goods." "What then?" ased Comrade Goerke, "are the net results to all concerned of all this 'unionizing' of Tobin? Why," answered Goerke, "Tobin gets a fat salary as organizer for the shoeworkers, the capitalist sells more shoes and makes more money, and the poor shoemaker gets no betterment of conditions, and is 25 cents a week out, and last, but not least, in the eyes of Labor Fakir Tobin and Mr. Shoe Manufacturer, there is the much sought for Hanna-Gomperian Peace between Capital and Labor! Is it not damnable?"

Take it all in all, it was the most successful Socialist Labor Party out-door street meeting ever held in Cleveland. The crowd was held spellbound until after 11 p. m. Then question after question was hurled at Georke and Poelling until the crowd divided into two parts and Goerke answered questions for one crowd and Poelling for the other. The meeting did not finally adjourn until midnight.

The kangaroos were to have held a meeting on the square that same night. They had an imported speaker ready, but when they saw that Poelling and Goerke were holding forth, they "silently folded their tents and stole away." Their imported speaker dared not face the S. L. P. music and kangaroo-like, backed away. By the way, the "importation" had only a few small fry kangaroos for escorts. Neither Civic Federationist Harry Thomas, nor Robert Bandlow, were present. Are the big fish sneaking out and letting the little fish do the disagreeable work for the kangaroos? It would seem so.

The poor kangaroos seem to be dying. Well, let them die. The sooner, the better. When the imitation bogus Socialist gets out of the way, the real Socialist can the better grapple with his real antagonist, the large and small capitalist class. On, to the conquest of the public powers.

STRIKE OFF.

Ignominious End of the Richmond Struggle.

Richmond, Va., Aug. 24.—The expected has happened, and the local street car strike has come to an end by being declared off by the Street Railway Employees Union. As the decision was not reached until this afternoon, no details are accessible other than those published in the capitalistic evening newspapers. This much is true, however; the failure of the strike is absolute, and the union is a thing of the past. About four hundred of the strikers will have to look for work elsewhere, as their places have been filled by the street car company.

The strike began on June 17, and has lasted sixty-nine days. It was marked by great disorder, the calling out of two regiments of militia and their service for four weeks, the murder by the soldiery of a workingman in Manchester; and a diabolical conspiracy on the part of the street car company and the military authorities to railroad innocent men to the penitentiary on the charge of wrecking a street car, all of which events have been communicated to the Daily People during the progress of the strike.

In addition to all this, another fact stands out in bolder relief than ever before in this section of country, and that is the utter impotency of pure and simple unionism as a means of defending working-class interests. The necessity for class-conscious economic and political organization of the working class was never so clearly demonstrated as by this strike. If the workers grasp the meaning of the situation, instead of the strike being a failure, it can be turned into a grand victory for the whole working class.

Alex B. McCulloch.

LABOR DAY PICNIC AT ROCKVILLE.

On Labor Day, and also the Sunday preceding, September 6 and 7, a picnic will be held at the grove of Section Rockville for the benefit of the campaign fund of the State Organization, S. L. P.

As this affair will wind up the summer season, and considering the purpose for which it is given, namely, for the campaign fund, which should be in as good a position as possible, for a State and national campaign is pending, and therefore we hope and expect to meet out there all our friends and sympathizers.

ATTENTION, RHODE ISLAND.

On account of the severe storm of June 21, the date of the S. L. P. excursion, the S. E. C. has decided to have another.

On Sunday, September 6, the steamer, Richard Borden, will leave Power Street Wharf at 10 o'clock, sailing through Bristol Harbor, passing Mount Hope Park, in view of Fall River, and proceeding to Newport, giving two hours ashore; then sailing up the bay, passing Conanicut Park, down the west passage to Dutch Island Harbor, passing Wickford and Warwick Neck; arriving in Providence about 8 o'clock, giving a view of portions of the bay seldom visited by excursions.

There will be music and refreshments on the boat. Tickets, 35 cents; children, 25 cents.

Fellow wage workers, patronize this excursion. Take your families with you and all enjoy the day with the only party that represents the interests of your class, the valiant Socialist Labor Party.

Rhode Island S. E. C.

CHICAGO, ATTENTION!

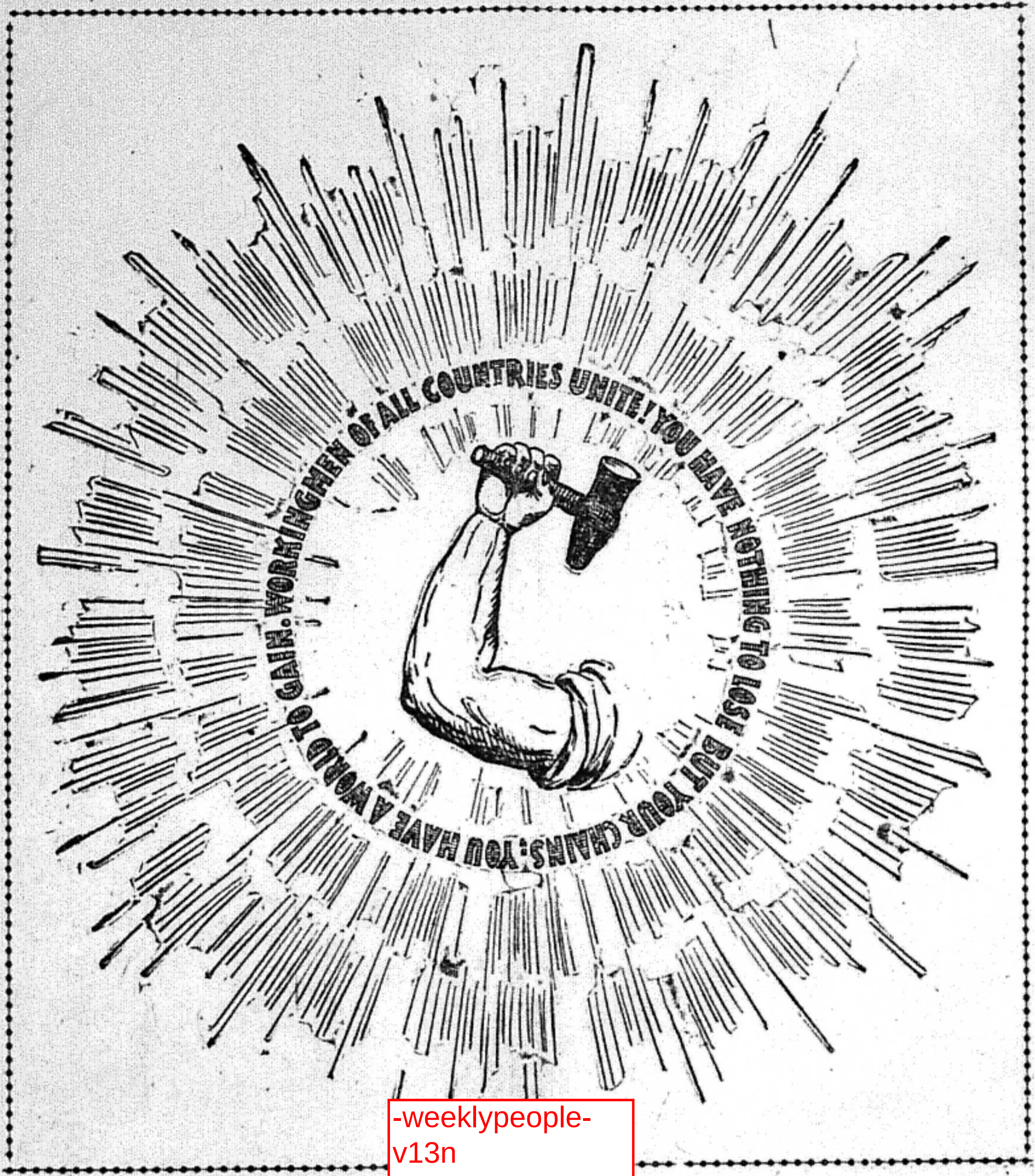
Section Chicago, S. L. P., will give a picnic at Scheiner's Grove, 3200 North Fortieth avenue, Sunday, September 6.

A delightful time is assured to all. There will be prize bowling, and prize racing, and good fishing for those who enjoy the sport.

After a week of toil, tripping the light fantastic is an agreeable and pleasant diversion, so there will be dancing also. A good musical program and ample refreshments are among the remaining good features.

Readers of the People and sympathizers are cordially invited to attend. The tickets are only fifteen cents. The affair will be an afternoon and evening one. Tickets can be secured from any Comrade, or at headquarters, 48 West Randolph street.

In order to reach the Grove, board all northbound Robey, Western, California and Kedize avenue cars. Transfer to Elston avenue cars to Fortieth avenue cars; direct to the Grove.


WORKINGMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE! YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS; YOU HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN.

MUNIC[illegible]ICKET

CIT[illegible]ORK

JAMES T. HUNTER

OF MANHATTAN

FOR COMPTROLLER

JOHN J. KINNEALLY

OF BRONX

FOR PRESIDENT BOARD OF ALDERMEN

ELMER E. SNYDER

OF RICHMOND

PLATFORM

The Socialist Labor Party of the City of New York, in municipal convention assembled, on this 29th day of August, 1903, reviewing the party's attitude by the light of the events of the last two years, reiterates its unswerving loyalty to the national and State platforms, utterances and declarations of the Socialist Labor Party, and re-pledges its support to the party's policy and tactics.

A novel lure has of recent years been set up to confuse the working class and lead them into the political shambles of the capitalist class. That lure is the false pretense of "no partisan politics in municipal elections." The Socialist Labor Party turned the light on this false pretense. Subsequent events have proved the party's contention.

The "purity of the home" is impossible without wealth. The capitalist social system plunders the working class of the wealth they produce. Thus plundered, the worker's home is what we know it to be—narrow, unihabitable tenements, from whose doors it is so hard to keep the wolf that mothers have to go into the factories, their babies have to be put into "nurseries" and their children have to work before they have enjoyed the full advantages of school and play. This system cannot be changed by boards of aldermen and mayors. It starts from Washington and is kept up via Albany. The "purity of the home" is not to be attained by "municipal reform." It is to be attained only by a national change of the social system.

It follows that a municipal election must be looked upon by the working class only in the light of a skirmish for the conquest of the State and national governments. The events of the last two years have proved all this.

Seeing that the municipal election is only an outpost skirmish for national battles, we find the politicians of the old parties striving to secure this outpost against the working class, and each set of these capitalist politicians trying to secure the outpost for its particular advantage. Disguise the fact as they may, the truth peeps out in the clapperclaw between the Platts, Odells, Clevelands, Murphys, Ridders, Haffens, Hills, etc.

Seeing that the municipal election is only an outpost skirmish for the national battle of capitalists against labor and of one set of capitalist interests against the other, we have seen the spectacle of an alleged "good government" administration furnishing one police commissioner whose conduct was such as to cause the charge to be made against him that he was bought by the gamblers; then another police commissioner whose asphalt financial schemes have brought upon his head the court's order of a receiver to counteract the swindle; then a corporation counsel who drafted a bill that was to place New York at the mercy of the New York Central Railroad, and many more such instances. We have seen, in short, one set of plunderers of the people followed by another.

What Tammany Hall is and means should need no explanation. Are not two years of the same beast of capitalism in the "anti-Tammany" paint enough to prove the essential kinship of the two cubs?

In this municipal campaign, accordingly, the working class of this city will find again the unsullied standard of the Socialist Labor Party raised intrepidly as a rallying point for the working class of the city; for all those who have graduated beyond the point when either old affiliations or new lures will keep them from the path that they must tread for their emancipation; for all those who refuse to play the role of chips in the capitalist game; for all those who respect themselves too much to ally themselves with people whose national and State affiliations dye their hands red with the blood of the workingman, the working woman and the working child, and who, from head to toe, are reeking in the debauchery that marks the capitalist class.

The Socialist Labor Party standard is the rallying point for all those who understand that Wall street gamblers can not be moral if they would, and would not of they could, and that all the capitalist interests—whether "Good Government" or "Tammany"—either have their roots in Wall street or have their leaves watered by Wall street.

The Socialist Labor Party standard is the rallying point for all those who understand that men who plunder them in the shops can neither furnish them with "sweet homes" nor with "Jeffersonian Democracy."

The Socialist Labor Party standard is the rallying point for all those who understand that Labor alone produces all wealth, consequently that Labor alone should enjoy the product of its efforts, and that the class that lives on Labor's back, like the flea, is not the class to be entrusted with the helm of government—whether municipal or otherwise.

Finally, the Socialist Labor Party standard is the rallying point for all those who understand that every election is a struggle for the political strongholds of society, and that it is the mission, as it is the duty, of the working class to dislodge the capitalist or idle and immoral class from these fastnesses, until its national citadel is conquered and the Socialist Republic is established, where he who works shall live, and he who does not shall not.

A vote for the Socialist Labor Party is a vote for freedom, it is a harbinger of increasing enlightenment. A vote for any other party is a vote for wage slavery direct, or an evidence that the voter, if a workingman, is still a fiddle for the deceivers of the working class to fiddle upon.

The class-conscious workingman looks not for paps and knows that the time for paps is gone by. Next 3d of November he will do the only thing that the intelligent workingman can do—vote for emancipation from wage slavery by rallying at the polls with the Socialist Labor Party.

THE CONVENTION.

The "Dead" S. L. P. Proves To Be Very Much Alive—Much Enthusiasm.

Happy Days Hall, in St. Mark's place, was crowded with delegates and party members last Saturday night when the city convention of the Socialist Labor Party was called to order. At the fall of the chairman's gavel, the spacious hall, which but a few moments before had been the scene of an animated discussion, carried on by various groups, became the scene of an orderly gathering of workingmen determined to enter the coming municipal campaign in a manner befitting the class conscious proletariat of the great metropolis of the great new world capitalism.

Henry Kuhn was elected temporary chairman; Robert Downes, temporary vice-chairman; Irving Weissberger, temporary secretary.

Kuhn, on assuming the chair, said it was not customary for S. L. P. men to indulge in pretty phrases when taking the gavel. He was nevertheless proud to say that the attendance at the convention showed that the "dead" S. L. P. looked very much alive. He judged from the activity and interest reflected therein, that the firing line in the coming campaign would be no thinner than it ever was. The coming campaign was a very important one, and the large and enthusiastic number present was proof of the fact that Section New York realized that it had a duty to perform therein and that it would do it, come what may.

The remainder of the temporary officers were then elected, after which committees on credentials and platform were elected. Comrades Kobel, Moskowitz, Dunn, Schmidt and Reilly, composed the first committee, while Moren, Teichlauf, Scherer, Mengle and Kelley made up the second one.

The convention then went into recess, in order to give the committees time and opportunity to perform their labors. During this recess, speeches were made by Comrades Corregan, Ferguson, Lyon and Teche, each of whom dwelt upon the necessity of nominating candidates with good qualifications, and of conducting the campaign on the lines of the class struggle in a manner and vigor becoming the Socialist Labor Party. Applause was frequent during the speeches and enthusiasm ran high.

The report of the committee on credentials, read by Chairman Kobel, showed there were 78 delegates present representing 29 assembly districts in Manhattan and Bronx; 40 delegates representing 17 assembly districts in Brooklyn, and 3 representing Queens. Three delegates were also present from Richmond. The credentials of the Twelfth Assembly District, Manhattan, were rejected.

The temporary organization was then made permanent.

The platform committee then reported the platform above given, which was unanimously adopted.

The adoption of the platform was, in the logical order of the business of convention, followed by the making of nominations. Donald Ferguson, in an eloquent speech, laudatory of the character and abilities of his choice, nominated James T. Hunter. Hunter's name was received with an avalanche of applause. Edmund Moonelis similarly nominated Daniel De Leon. James Sherer nominated Harvey A. Santee, and Joseph Whitelaw nominated Frank D. Lyon. Lyon declined the nomination, as did De Leon. This left Santee and Hunter as the only nominees. Many enthusiastic speeches were made in favor of both nominees. Hunter having been the first nominee, his name was the first submitted to the convention. The vote cast showed sixty in favor of Hunter and twelve for Santee. A motion to make the nomination unanimous was carried with a whoop, and when the chairman declared James T. Hunter the choice of the Socialist Labor Party for mayor the announcement was received with prolonged applause.

The convention then nominated John J. Kinneally, of the Bronx, for comptroller and Elmer E. Snyder, of Richmond, for president of the board of aldermen, both the nominations being made unanimously.

A committee on vacancies, consisting of Donald Ferguson, Lazarus Abelson and Edward C. Schmidt, was elected. This concluded the political work of the convention.

A collection was taken up, after which more speeches were made, and then the convention adjourned, with prolonged and enthusiastic cheers for the Socialist Labor Party and the triumph of international Socialism.

FROM 'FRISCO

LABOR QUESTION DISTURBS GRAND ARMY ENCAMPMENT THERE.

Though Relegated to the Rear, Temporarily, it Reasserts Itself With Renewed Force—The Newsboys' Strike and the Action of the Printing Trades.

San Francisco, Cal., Aug. 24.—The visit of the Grand Army of the Republic to the Pacific Coast has kept this city in a state of fermentation for the last two weeks. In the excitement of preparation for the event and the glamor of of its realization the ever-present labor troubles were again pushed into the background of public sentiment. The troubles, nevertheless, remained, and occasionally manifested themselves somewhat unpleasantly. In the midst of the preparations the Musicians' Union created a diversion by refusing to play with the military bands unless those splendid organizations would consent to receive union wages. The Grand Army committee naturally objected. The matter was adjusted in a meeting between General Shafter, representing the army, and Mayor Schmitz, acting not as mayor of the city, but as president of the Musicians' Union. It need not be added that the unions gave in.

About this time the Carmen's Court of Arbitration took a sudden recess. On August 13th, the third day of the carmen's rebuttal, Livernash demanded an adjournment for two weeks, that he might have time to collect material to rebut certain false statistics of the railroad company. The company's council objected. High words ensued, which ended in Livernash's leaving the court with all his following. So the court adjourned.

In spite of arbitration, through Schmitz and other high officials, the linemen are still out. The strike of the Fort Bragg lumbermen also drags on. Efforts are being made to settle the trouble in the Randsburg mines, which began in the "Yellow Aster" many weeks ago, and is causing considerable inconvenience in the southern part of the State. Numerous small strikes are continually rising, and subsiding again after playing their part in the general prosperity of the State.

The newsboys are still holding out against the San Francisco evening papers. This neglected strike has points of interest. The newspapers are, of course, silent on the subject, and the sight of the boys selling the Oakland papers on the streets of San Francisco is only a matter of amusement to the good citizen who can easily procure his paper at a neighboring stand. But a few days ago a notice appeared in one of the papers, signed by the president of the "Allied Printing Trades Council and Typographical Union" and by officers of certain other unions connected with that trade, stating that the newsboys' strike was not the fight of the boys, but of a few middlemen who had taken possession of the best localities for selling papers and were exploiting both the newspapers and the boys. The newsboys' union then brought out a printed dodger denying this and calling upon the accusers to prove the existence of a single middleman of the kind mentioned in their notice.

It makes little difference which statement is correct. Either case goes to prove the utter futility of pure-and-simpledom. Either the newsboys' organization is dominated by unscrupulous middlemen, or the more aristocratic unions connected with the printing trade are combining with the capitalists to break the newsboys' strike, while all those illustrious "centers" with which everything has been affiliating during the last year, look on in silence.

The State committee of the so-called Socialist party has decided that the amendment to their so-called constitution is not retroactive, and that the San Francisco members of local San Mateo may still retain their membership in that local. But local San Francisco S. P. is too exultant over having polled two hundred and thirteen (213) votes at the recent primary election to be much disheartened by the decision.

GERMAN SOCIALIST SPLIT.

Intensity of the Struggle Now Going on in the Party.

Berlin, Aug. 29.—Herr Bebel, the Socialistic leader, was hissed at the Social Democratic convention held in Berlin this week, during a controversy over the Reichstag Vice-Presidency question. This indicates the intensity of the factional struggle which is going on in the party during the period of its greatest triumph, and which will be fought out in the party's national convention at Dresden in September. It is a renewal of the Bebel-Bernstein dispute of 1901. Herren Bebel and Singer and the old-time party chiefs are rigid in their determination not to participate in the unclass-conscious ideas, while Herr Bernstein, the opportunist, favors a revision of the Socialist programme.

"NOBLY WAGING THE CLASS STRUGGLE"

In July, 1901, at a gathering at Indianapolis, oddly enough called a "Unity" Convention, where the various factions of Kangaroos, Social Democrats, and "Socialist" party adherents "united" by dividing themselves into as many parties as there are States organized, through the adoption of the "State autonomy" principle, which permits each State to run in its own peculiar way, independent of any national body, a resolution was passed containing the following words:

"We call the attention of trades unionists to the fact that the class struggle so nobly waged by the trades union forces to-day, etc.," and another asking the American Federation of Labor to help organize the working class of Porto Rico.

And so the class struggle was declared to be "nobly waged" by the pure and simple trades union "forces" to-day. "Noble waging of the class struggle;" such a phrase would imply that pure and simple trades unions were honestly, earnestly and "nobly" fighting the capitalist class on the economic field and doing something towards the accomplishing of the final emancipation of the working class from capitalism. The idea of impressing upon any members of the working class to whose attention this article may be brought, the utter absurdity of such a claim and the vicious hypocrisy and crass stupidity of the Kangaroo, Social Democratic "Socialists" who make it, prompted the writing of this summary of instances of the antics of "organized labor" and its "representatives" in the pure and simple camp, to which the term "noble waging" has been applied by the toadying Kangaroo "borers from within."

Of course those of the Kangs who know anything know that it is a silly lie to call such a travesty "noble waging of the class struggle," but they have simply got to cringe to the labor fakirs (who by the way) despise them as meaner than themselves), in order to be permitted to continue their "boring" process; they are compelled to lick the boots of the labor fakirs and grovel before them so that they may not appear to be "antagonistic to the unions." This, in the hope of some day getting support from them—which they never get unless the fakirs need them in their business—or obtaining some petty job work to aid the corporations controlling their privately owned printing plants.

At the meeting of the National Civic Federation in this city last winter, Dan Keefe of the Longshoremen declared that his organization never violates its agreements with the employers and stands ready to fill the places of any of its men who refuse to abide by such contracts. At the same pow-wow, Mark Hanna referred to John Mitchell as "My friend Mitchell." This is the same Mitchell who believes in "harmony" and a "mutual understanding" between employer and employee, and who during the Coal Strike, doubtless to avoid disturbing the "harmonious relations" between himself and his "friend" Hanna refused to call out the soft coal miners from Hanna's mines, thus permitting them to scab it on their "brothers" of the anthracite region, by supplying the market with coal and incidentally increasing the profits and helping extend the business of "friend" Mark. The notorious Tobin Boot and Shoe Workers' Union declares its readiness to grant the "Union Stamp" to any manufacturer and "organize" the factory at "existing conditions" and bind the operatives with an "agreement" forbidding them to strike. Its actions in the recent Lynn strike when its Kangaroo, Social Democratic, "Socialist" scab-furnishing agents chased over the country in search of specimens such as "Shorty" Flynn, the Worcester burglar, and of "Molly's pets" from Cincinnati, to fill the places of the striking cutters and brave women stitchers who refused to any longer submit to what they had by bitter experience come to know as nothing but "organized scabbery," are sufficient proof of its caliber. The fight of the carpenters, Brotherhood versus Amalgamated, which shows signs of renewal, is familiar history.

The way the unions in the building trades have through their corrupt "leaders," been used by capitalist contractors in fighting their competitors, as explained in the article entitled "The Building Trades," published in the Daily and Weekly, and now appearing in the August number of the Monthly People, was thoroughly exposed by the evidence adduced at the recent trials of walking delegates in the local courts. The assistance rendered the capitalist class by Cox, Gompers and others in hobnobbing with the Mayor of Boston and the Governor of Massachusetts in stampeding the striking freight handlers of Boston back to work just at a time when the traffic of New England was being paralyzed and there was a chance to win something, is ancient history. "The story of the Subway Strike" also published in the columns of The Daily People shows how our own Central Fakirated Union does the dirty work of its dear "brother" Capital.

The fix of the Electrical Workers' No. 1 of St. Louis, through the scabby treachery of its National Officers, who, just as the local men felt sure of obtaining the increase asked for, hobnobbed with the Worlds' Fair Contractors and not only prevented the men from getting the increase, but threatened to scab the city is explained in the circular issued by Local No. 1. In the circular the following paragraph tells its own tale:

"On account of the World's Fair, rents have raised, and the cost of living has increased 50 per cent. Our demand was so fair and just that there did not appear to be any particular opposition, until Brother F. E. Loshman, first grand vice-president, started to interfere, and went before the Contractors' Association and said that he would force the local to live up to an alleged agreement for $4 per day, and also read a letter from the grand president to the effect that if the union demanded or tried to enforce a higher scale, the charter of No. 1 would be suspended, and the E. B. would bring men to St. Louis to fill our places."

These are all instances of the faithful service given to the capitalists by their "trusted labor lieutenants," which could be multiplied ad infinitum, ad nauseum. If the scabby tricks above enumerated are a display of "nobility," then indeed is the class struggle "nobly waged by the trades union forces of to-day." But so far is it from being true that the cutting up of such capers is a "noble waging of the class struggle," that any honest workingman sizing up the situation can see at a glance that it is an exhibition of viciousness and treachery that should be condemned and exposed at every turn.

The confusion in the minds of the rank and file resulting from the way their affairs are handled by the gang who are supposed to "represent" them renders such exposure an absolute necessity. But exposure is not the only thing required; the honest workingman should also endeavor to educate the rest of the workers to a knowledge of the right course for them to pursue, teach them to get rid of the fakirs who fatten on them, and throwing aside their antiquated pure and simple unions with all that they imply, build up a class-conscious organization such as the S. T. & L. A., backed by a political one, the S. L. P., with which to fight for their emancipation along the only lines that will stead if they are to "nobly wage the class struggle" and successfully bring it to an end.

If the rank and file could but see and size up their "representatives in such bodies as the Central Fakirated Circus, and watch the farce they make of "conducting" the "labor movement" as the writer in his capacity of reporter for The Daily People has been enabled to do during the past six months, it would open their eyes greatly to their own foolishness in entrusting their affairs to such a gang as can be found in any Central Labor Union in most any city in the land. The writer hopes to reach some of them and help them open their eyes through the medium of such write-ups as this one.

Taking the local C. F. U. as a horrible example, we find its delegates at the beginning of the year wasting their time wrangling over rival unions of harbor pilots until the scrap was ended by the expulsion of Keyes and his so-called "paper" union. Then came the squabble of the brewery workers wherein one crowd had declared a boycott on certain breweries and the others persisted in contending that the breweries were "fair" because of the "agreement" that had been signed and could not be violated for the sake of any employes who were not included in it no matter what the grievances of the latter may be. This incident came near causing a serious row with the Brooklyn C. L. U. Incidents of treachery to the rank and file, as in the treatment of the subway strikers; complaints of mutual scabbery as in the case of the machinists and boilermakers in the Quintard Iron Works; illustrations of what a farce comedy the "labor movement" is to the fakirs; demonstrations of the stupidity and inconsistency of the kangaroo "borers from within," can all be witnessed, week after week in this and similar bodies of "noble wagers."

A few extracts from the "Circus" reports which appear every Monday in the Daily People will be of interest to new readers and old ones as well, and enable them to form an idea of the character of the "noble waging" practiced in the C. F. U.

From "Circus" report of January 12, as follows:

"More than an hour was given up to the discussion of the fight of the Brewery Workers, during which many points were brought out to show how beautifully and 'nobly' the class struggle is waged by pure and simple trades unions. One delegate reported that the C. F. U. of Brooklyn had, at its last meeting, declared unfair and ordered a boycott on a certain brewery, which the C. F. U. of Manhattan has for weeks been strenuously supporting and advertising as a fair concern. The same concern is being fought by Local 59, of the B. W. U., which the Fakiration is trying to crush out of existence, and around which all the trouble centers.

"Kangaroo Brown took advantage of this wrangle to air his oratory and incidentally advertised the Brauer Zeitung, by telling of an attack upon him by the editor of that sheet. He denounced the national officers of the Brewery Workers' Union and dilated with truly kangaroo 'eloquence' on fealty to the labor movement, the union and the label, but just as he wound up his wonderful peroration and was about to subside with a self-satisfied grin, an old man, named Ryan, delegate of the Photo Engravers, jumped up angrily and exclaimed: 'You dare to talk about fealty to the union and union labels! You, who came here the other day and presented a fellow with a gold medal that was made in a 'non-union' shop and then made a baby excuse for it. You ought to be ashamed of yourself to try to stand up here and talk before union men' The poor kang flushed and dropped into his seat as if shot, and stayed there, but he 'never smiled again.'

"The fellow who reported what had happened at the Brooklyn Central Labor Union also said that the representative to the Brooklyn body of his local, who had made the report, had also stated that Phillips, of the Hatters, had taken the floor over there and denounced the members of the New York C. F. U. as a gang of politicians and fakirs, whose contracts made with the brewery owners were a discredit and disgrace to organized labor. More noble waging."

On February 2:

"The billposters again came on the scene, this time with a request of the same nature as that of the horseshoers. The request was for a delegation of two from the Fakiration to accompany their delegate to Albany to humbly beg the favor of having the features detrimental to their interests eliminated from the bill which was the primary cause of the exciting scene of last Sunday between Warner and the would-be fly reporter. This request was also granted."

It is not the least of the evils of "pure and simple" training that workingmen can be led to believe that they can obtain "favorable consideration" of their interests from the capitalist legislators by merely sending lobbying committees to beg for it.

On the first Sunday in March, Rhody Kenahan, a national officer of the horseshoers, appeared at the C. F. U. and told them that it was a disgrace to them to know that thirty-two "union" breweries were getting their horses shod in scab shops, while the horseshoers had been out on strike eleven weeks and practically no support given them. Of course, the agreements with the boss brewers prevented the rendering of assistance to the horseshoers whose struggle has been strung out all summer as a result.

The following extract from the "Circus" of March 9 conveys the idea of what is meant by the term "craft struggle."

"The sketch was introduced by Simon for the committee on the Woodworkers' trouble. The scenes were laid in a barroom on Long Island. The bar and fixtures were made by the Woodworkers, and bear the label, yet Local 309, Carpenters and Joiners have boycotted the place because they claim woodworkers are not good yuneyun men. The latter came in with a circular, declaring the place fair and getting the C. F. U. to back them. The dialogue in the piece displays the pettiness of spirit and crass ignorance of the pure and simpler, and shows what a small thing the labor movement is to men lacking the brain capacity to conceive its true magnitude.

"The woodworker comes on the scene shouting: 'Those things are strictly union, they bear our label; if we are scabs, you are also scabs.' 'Why do you single out a bar bearing our label and ignore the absolutely scab bars?' 'We are entitled to have our plea indorsed.' A tilelayer then jumps up and says: 'That is all very well, but you fellows forget that you don't treat us square; you do tilelaying and call yourself union woodworkers.' The latter retort that they only put on glued work. Presently there is a violent hubbub with five in the ring at once, all arguing as to whether certain bits of fancy work should be glued on the walls of a bathroom by tilelayers, woodworkers or carpenters. Near the close the players become so interested that the ringmaster has to crack his whip sharply several times to get them to retire."

This same scrap has come up again during the last month, though it was supposed to have been settled by one Downey of Brooklyn, who was selected as umpire for that purpose.

Although there is suposed to be "no politics in the union," at this same meeting of March 8, ex-Senator Ford was given the floor for about an hour to blow his horn about the Elsberg and other bills then up at Albany. At the same meeting, Kangaroo Morris Brown, of the Cigarmakers, showed how much "revolutionary" spirit is in a kangaroo by warning the fakirs to go slow in the matter of the dispute between the horseshoers and brewery workers, telling them that "the C. F. U. is sponsor for the agreement with the master brewers, having indorsed that agreement," "and," said he, "you should keep your agreements like honorable men." "Whatever is done," said Brown, "should be done in such a manner that the C. F. U. be not held up to ridicule, and have it said that it is no more use to make agreements with the C. F. U." With such a crew running the affairs of "organized labor," is it any wonder that the strike of the horseshoers has dragged along for nine months. With leading lights of the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist." Party addressing the fakirs as "honorable men" and advising them to avoid losing the good-will of the bosses, is it any wonder that the kangaroo "borers from within" are treated with deserved contempt by honest class-conscious Socialists who understand the make-up of the pure and simple "leaders of labor."

After the Quintard Iron Works strike, Delegate Wilson, of the machinists, dramatically declared on the floor of the Circus that his men had thrown up their hands in disgust and called the strike off because they found that they not only had the company to fight, but also members of "organized labor" who did their work while they were on strike. Only last Sunday, August 23, this same Wilson had a similar tale of woe, this time accusing the Amalgamated Association of Engineers of doing the betraying in the present strike of the machinists. And this is "noble waging of the class struggle"—according to the kangaroo.

Another phase of "noble waging" is presented in the attitude of that much landed organization of the letter carriers. At one of the June meetings of the Circus its delegate in announcing that a picnic was to be held in aid of the sick and death benefit fund, deplored the fact that although the United States government is the richest in the world, there had been among the deaths in the previous six months, four old men who had been from twenty-four to thirty-nine years in the service, and yet up to the time of their death had no pension or other reward in sight after their long and faithful service. For this reason the benefit fund needed augmenting, so that the worn-out employes of Uncle Sam could be at least decently interred—at the expense of their fellow wage slaves. And what think you his "great and powerful" organization was attempting to do in the way of remedying this state of things? Nothing less than lobbying for the passage of a bill that would permit the levying of assessments on all letter carriers—a sort of check-off system—said assessments to go into a fund to be used for pensioning worn-out employes of the postal service—again at the expense of their fellow wage-slaves. And this begging their masters to permit them to reduce their already meager salaries so that they may assist the capitalist class by providing for their discarded slaves, is dignified by the term "noble waging" of the class strugle."

That "boring from within," so far from making the pure and simple unions "Socialistic," purifying them or ridding them of fakirs, only tends to and does make fakirs and hypocrites of the "borers" themselves, is another thing to be observed by the visitor to the various Circuses where kangaroo delegates are to be found. With all the eulogies of Parks and others by various fakirs of the C. F. U. during recent meetings, not a kangaroo dared to open his mouth. With all the acknowledged crookedness in the pure and simple end of the "labor movement" to-day, none dare make an honest effort to have the crooks driven from its ranks. It is one of the inherent features of pure and simpledom that only when some of its biggest barnacles threaten the entire destruction of its rotten hull does anything like a clean-out occur, and then the effect is only temporary because of the very rottenness of the hull.

How different with the class-conscious labor movement as represented by the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A., where whenever a crook with malice prepense, a self-seeking individual with petty material interests to conserve, or a man who through sheer stupidity and lack of ability to conceive the true magnitude of the movement, seeks to hold it down to the compass of his litle mind or otherwise retard its progress, appears in its ranks, the clean-out is swift and sure, and thus the movement is kept purified and in a position to march forward in fighting trim toward the final batle for the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery and capitalist exploitation.

In this connection it may be well to cite an illustration used by the writer in explaining recent occurrences before one of the locals of the S. T. & L. A., in this city, wherein the old and the new trades unionism are compared to ancient and modern ships. The ancient mariner, ignorant of the theory of floating, knowing only the necessity of having ships, knowing also that wood was light and would float, built his ship of wood as as the only available material for the purpose, covered it with a coat of common paint, fastened it with wooden tre-nails, and started out to plow the ocean waves, with all that that implies. Contact with the ocean and its contents soon removed the paint, and presently the mariner found that his ship was covered with barnacles, and that teredo worms and other parasites of the sea had bored into her hull, so that her speed was lessened and her frame weakened, making it highly dangerous to be caught in one of the storms, so certain to be met with. Docking, cleaning off the barnacles, filling the wormholes and painting now became necessary, but in a short time our mariner found himself in the same fix with his ship's hull growing ever weaker with each recurrence of the process.

Later, with the invention of metallic paint and copper sheathing in place of common paint and the use of copper bolts instead of wooden tre-nails, our mariner thought he had discovered the secret of preserving the hull intact, but contact with the sea and the rubbish floating therein ripped off the sheathing, rubbed through the metallic paint, and it was only a question of time when his life was again menaced by the barnacle and the teredo worm, because the hull beneath was still the same old material—wood.

But as time went on the need of quickness and safety in navigation, resulting from the extension of commerce, which in turn was brought about by the increased productivity caused by the improvement in the machinery of wealth production, set to thinking the more intelligent of the men interested, and stimulated them to the acquiring and applying a knowledge of the correct theory and principles of floating, and the invention of up-to-date ships to meet the requirements of existing conditions. Thus we have the modern ocean greyhound, with a hull of strongest steel, driven by powerful machinery and manned by men who fear neither wind nor wave, because of the knowledge that is in them of the superiority of their ship and the material it is constructed of. Barnacles and teredos have no longer any chance to adhere, but as the sea is the same old sea, naturally, in the course of time, some of its slime gathers on the ship's bottom, in the form of a fine green, mossy growth, and impedes her progress slightly. Then our modern mariner forthwith docks his ship and, with one sweep of a broom, the slime is gone and he continues on his voyaging, with his ship as strong and slick and speedy as ever. The parasites of the sea are no longer a menace to her, because her hull is built of up-to-date material—steel.

As with the old-time mariners and their ships, so with the old-time workingmen and their trade unions. In the early days of capitalism the workers, ignorant of the true theory of organization, knowing only the necessity of resisting oppression, knowing also that a union could accomplish more than an individual, proceeded to build their organization, the "trade union, pure and simple," as the only available form according to their knowledge, covered it with the coat of common paint of the "aristocracy of labor," the rights of capital, mutual interests, etc., fastened it with the wooden tre-nails of "no politics in the union" and started to plow the stormy sea of capitalism, with all that that implies. Contact with capitalist diplomacy soon brought on a condition where the barnacles and teredo worms of the labor movement fastened themselves in its hull and at every clean-out left it in a weaker condition than before.

Later on was tried the metallic paint of organizing the "unskilled," the copper sheathing of "begged" for "labor legislation" and the copper bolts of "labor endorsed" political candidates—still standing for capitalism—and now our workingmen thought they had discovered the secret of preserving the union; now they fondly imagined they had got a ship such as our old-time sailor would describe as "a flash packet, British oak and copper fastened, with everything 'a tanto' ship-shape and Bristol fashion." But the waves of the capitalist sea play the same old game, and its parasites finally attach themselves in the same old way, and when the copper bolt falls out of the worm-eaten wood the danger is greater than ever, and the welfare of the rank and file is again menaced—because the hull is of the same old wood of the acceptance of the principles of capitalism.

But the same development of capitalism that stimulated the invention of the steel steamer also produced the necessity for a better form of union with which to fight against exploitation, and impelled the more intelligent ones to a study and discovery of the true theory and principles of organization—the recognition of the class struggle—and the formation of up-to-date bodies consistent with the requirements of the times. Thus the men who, on the political field, had launched the S. L. P., on the economic field brought into existence the S. T. & L. A., based on the principles of the class struggle, declaring for the taking of political action on class lines, aiming at nothing short of the absolute overthrow of the capitalist system and propelled by the machinery of the revolutionary spirit of class solidarity; in other words, possessing hulls of steel.

But the sea of capitalism is the same old sea, and in time some of its slime manages to adhere to the outside, and there is the difference between them and the pure-and-simple union, with its rotten wooden hull, clearly shown. Swiftly and surely is the broom applied, and behold the good ships of the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. speed on uninjured and unscathed, because they are built of up-to-date material—the steel plates of the principles of Revolutionary Socialism.

If they would reach the goal where lies their emancipation from the miseries of wage slavery, the working class must, sooner or later, get on board of these ships and discard the wooden tubs of pure and simpledom that permit the barnacles and teredos in the shape of Gompers, Mitchell, Tobin, Parks, Murphy and the rest of the parasites of capitalism to fasten themselves to them. It is up to those already on board to strive to make them understand the necessity of doing so, since it is the only means of accomplishing their own emancipation, as well as that of their fellow slaves.

S. J. F.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Subscriptions to the Weekly People have been coming in at a pretty fair rate during the past week. Quite a number of comrades who had not been heard from before have taken hold of the work, and indications are that when the members all over the country adopt more systematic methods much better results can be obtained. The most important thing is for each comrade to make up his mind to do a little. There is not one section outside of New York city that averages what is equal to five yearly subscribers a week. Every section with an ordinary membership should average that many. This would mean that the sections that secured that many all the year round would have 260 readers. At open-air meetings names and addresses can be collected and visiting committees organized to see these persons, and induce them to subscribe. In the workshop a comrade often has opportunities to ask his fellow-workers for a subscription. If you are a member of a pure and simple union, although you are not a borer from within, as long as you are forced to be there, take advantage of the situation by trying to induce the men there to become readers of the Weekly or Monthly People.

A sympathizer in Butte, Mont., sends in twenty-six yearly subscribers to the Weekly People. He evidently understands that this is one of the most effective methods of getting the workers in touch with our movement. Conditions are ripe for our propaganda in the West, and the comrades of the Rocky Mountain States should follow the good example thus set.

Another Westerner who knows what kind of work will do the most good is Comrade Fred Sibert, of San Francisco, Cal., who sends fourteen subscriptions to the Weekly People. Comrade Wright, of that city, sent in three and another comrade one, making a total of eighteen, all yearlys, and accompanied by cash. The San Francisco comrades are not asleep.

During the last week Comrade Pierson secured thirty-nine monthly and ten weekly subscriptions. This ends his work in Chicago for the time being. He left there on the 24th for a few weeks' work in the State of Illinois, beginning at Joliet. The comrades in Chicago and other points in Illinois should not let the work stop where Pierson left off. We do not say they are doing so, but if the work is dropped by others, because there is a canvasser in the field, the purpose is defeated for which the canvasser was engaged. The comrades in other States should also keep this in mind, and never be satisfied with what a canvasser alone can do.

Other comrades sending in five or more subscribers are as follows: H. S. James, Toronto, Ont., three weeklies, six monthlies; Hans Olson, Minneapolis, Minn., two weeklies, four monthlies; Fred Brown, Cleveland, O., eight weeklies; C. Schmidt, New Haven, Conn., four weeklies, one monthly; Thirty-fifth Assembly District, New York City, five weeklies. Total, 158 weeklies, 84 monthlies.

The contest for the speakers' platform is getting very interesting. Paterson, N. J., leads, with 85. Chicago has 80; Boston, 58; San Francisco, 31; Belleville, Ill., 29, and Pueblo, Colo., 28. All subscriptions must reach this office by September 7.

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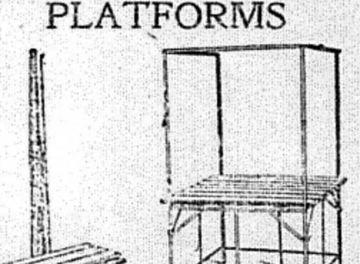

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WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty-Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

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PART II.

WOMAN IN THE PRESENT—Continued.

The working-women earned mostly veritable starvation wages. They received per week:—

Marks.	Percentage of Females.
Under 5	4.62
5— 6	5.47
6— 8	43.06
8—10	27.45
10—12	12.38
12—15	5.38
Over 15	0.74

In the Thüringer Wald district, in 1891, the workingmen engaged in the slate works received 2.10 marks a day; the women 0.70. In the spinning establishments, the men received 2 marks, the women from 0.90 to 1 mark.

Worst of all are the earnings in the tenement industry, for men as well as for women, but for the women it is still more miserable than for the men. In this branch, hours of work are unlimited; when the season is on, they transcend imagination. Furthermore, it is here that the sweating system is generally in vogue, *i. e.*, work given out by middlemen (contractors) who, in recompense for their irksome labor of superintendence, keep to themselves a large part of the wages paid by the principal. Under this system, women are also expected to submit to indignities of other nature.

How miserably female labor is paid in the tenement industries, the following figures on Berlin conditions may indicate. Men's colored shirts, paid for in 1889 with from 2 marks to 2.50, the employer got in 1893 for 1 mark 50 pfennig. A seamstress of average skill must work from early till late if she means to make from 6 to 8 of these skirts. Her earnings for the week are 4 or 5 marks. An apron-maker earns from 3 marks 50 pfennig to 5 marks a week; a necktie-maker, 5 to 6 marks; a skilled blouse-maker, 6 marks; a very skilled female operator on boys' clothing, 8 to 9 marks; an expert jacket-maker, 5 to 6 marks. A very swift seamstress on men's shirts may, in the good season, and working from 6 in the morning to 10 at night, make as much as 12 marks. Millinery workers, who can copy patterns independently, make 30 marks a month. Quick trimmers, with years of experience, earn from 50 to 60 marks a month during the season. The season usually lasts five months. An umbrella-maker, working twelve hours a day, makes 6 to 7 marks. Such starvation wages force the working-women into prostitution: even with the very plainest wants, no working-women can live in Berlin on less than 8 or 9 marks a week.

Acording to a statistical report on wages, ordered by the Chamber of Commerce of Reichenberg for its own district, 91 per cent. of all the working-women came under the wage category of from 2 to 5 guilders a week. Upon the enforcement in Austria of the law on sick insurance, the authorities discovered that in 116 districts (21.6 per cent. of all) the working-women earned at most 30 kreuzer a day, 90 guilders a year; and in 428 districts (78.4 per cent. of the total) from 30 to 50 kreuzer, or from 90 to 150 guilders a year. The young working-women, under 16 years of age, earned in 173 districts (30.9 per cent.) 20 kreuzer a day at the most, or at the most 60 guilders a year; and in 387 districts (69.1 per cent.) from 20 to 30 kreuzer, or from 60 to 90 guilders a year.

Similar differences between the wages of male and female labor exist in all countries on earth. According to the report on Russian industry at the Chicago Exposition in 1893, a workingman made in cotton weaving 66 marks a month, a working-woman 18; a male cotton spinner 66 marks, a female 14. In the lace industry men earned up to 130 marks, women 20; in cloth manufacture, with the power loom, a working man made 90 marks, a working-women 26 a month.

These facts show that woman is increasingly torn from family life by modern developments. Marriage and the family, in the bourgeois sense, are undermined by this development, and dissolved. From the view point afforded by this fact also, it is an absurdity to direct women to a domestic life. That can be done only by such people, who thoughtlessly walk the path of life; who fail to see the facts that shape themselves all around, or do not wish to see them, because they have an interest in plying the trade of optimism. Facts furnish a very different picture from that presented by such gentlemen.

In a large number of industries women are employed exclusively; in a larger number they constitute the majority; and in most of the others women are more or less numerously found. Their number steadily increases, and they crowd into ever newer occupations, that they had not previously engaged in. Finally, the working-woman is not merely paid worse than the working man; where she does as much as a man, her hours are, on an average, longer.

The German factory ordinances of the year 1891 fixed a maximum of eleven hours for adult working-women. The same is, however, broken through by a mass of exceptions that the authorities are allowed to make. Nightwork also is forbidden for working-women in factories, but here also the Government can make exceptions in favor of factories where work is continuous, or for special seasons; in sugar refineries, for instance. German legislation has not yet been able to rise to the height of really effective measures for the protection of working-women; consequently, these are exploited by inhumanly long hours, and physically wrecked in the small factories, especially in the tenement house industry. Their exploitation is made all the easier to the employer through the circumstance that, until now, a small minority excepted, the women have not realized that, the same as the men, they must organize in their trades, and, there where also men are employed, they must organize jointly with them, in order to conquer for themselves better conditions of work. The ever stronger influx of women in industrial pursuits affects, however, not those occupations only that their correspondingly weaker physique especially fits them for, but it affects also all occupations in which the modern system of exploitation believes it can, with their aid, knock off larger profits. Under this latter head belong both the physically exhausting and the most disagreeable and dangerous occupations. Thus the fantastic pretence of seeing in woman only a tender, finely-strung being, such as poets and writers of fiction love to depict for the delectation of men, a being, that, if it exists at all exists only as an exception, is again reduced to its true value.

Facts are obstinate things, and it is only they that concern us. They alone preserve us from false conclusions, and sentimental twaddle. These facts teach us that to-day we find women engaged in the following occupations, among others:—in cotton, linen and woolen weaving; in cloth and flannel making; in mechanical spinning, calico printing and dyeing; in steel pen and pin making; in the preparation of sugar, chocolate and cocoa; in manufacturing paper and bronzes; in making glass and porcelain and in glass painting; in the manufacture of faience, majolica and earthen ware; in making ink and preparing paints; making twine and paper bags; in preparing hops and manure and chemical disinfectants; in spinning and weaving silk and ribbons; in making soap, candles and rubber goods; in wadding and mat making; in carpet weaving; portfolio and cardboard making; in making lace and trimmings, and embroidering; making wall-paper, shoes and leather goods; in refining oil and lard and preparing chemicals of all sorts; in making jewelry and galvanoplastic goods; in the preparation of rags and refuse and bast; in wood carving, xylography and stone coloring; in straw hat making and cleaning; in making crockery, cigars and tobacco products; in making lime and gelatine fabrics; in making shoes; in furriery, in hat making; in making toys; in the flax, shoddy and hair industries; in watchmaking and housepainting; in the making of spring beds, pencils and wafers; in making looking-glasses, matches and gunpowder preparations; in dipping phosphorus match-sticks and preparing arsenic; in the tinning of iron; in the delicacy trade; in book printing and composition; in the preparation of precious stones; in lithography, photography, chromo-lithography and metachromotype, and also in the founding of types; in tile making, iron founding and in the preparation of metals generally; in the construction of houses and railroads; in electrical works; in book-binding, wood-carving and joining; in the making of footwear and clothing; file making; the making of knives and brass goods; in manufacturing combs, buttons, gold thread and gas implements; in the making of tanned goods and trunks; in making starch and chicory preparations; in metallurgy, wood-planing, umbrella making and fish manufacturing; the preservation of fruit, vegetables and meat; in the making of china buttons and fur goods; in mining above ground—in Belgium also underground after the women are 21 years old; in the natural oil and wax production; in slate making and stone breaking; in marble and granite polishing; in making cement; the transportation of barges and canal boats. Also in the wide field of horticulture, agriculture and cattle-breeding, and all that is therewith connected. Lastly, in the various industries in which they have long been considered to have the right of way: in the making of linen and woman's clothing, in the several branches of fashion, also as saleswomen, and more recently as clerks, teachers, kindergarten trainers, writers, artists of all sorts. Thousands upon thousands of women of the middle class are being utilized as slaves in the shops and in the markets, and are thereby withdrawn from all domestic functions, the training of children in particular. Finally, there is one occupation to be mentioned, in which young, especially pretty, girls are ever more in demand, to the great injury of their physical and moral development: it is the occupation in public resorts of all sorts as bar-maids, singers, dancers, etc., to attract men in quest of pleasure. This is a field in which impropriety runs riot, and the holders of white slaves lead the wildest orgies.

Among the occupations mentioned, not a few are most dangerous. Dangerous, for instance, are the sulphuric and alkaline gases in the manufacturing and cleaning of straw hats; so is the inhalation of chlorine gases in the bleaching of vegetable materials; the danger of poisoning is imminent in the manufacture of colored paper, colored wafers and artificial flowers; in the preparation of metachromotype, poisons and chemicals; in the painting of leaden soldiers and leaden toys. The on-laying of looking-glasses with quicksilver is simply deadly to the fruit of pregnant women. If, of the live-births in Prussia, 22 per cent. on an average die during the first year, there die, according to Dr. Hirt, 65 per cent. of the live-births of female on-layers of quicksilver, 55 per cent. of those of female glass-polishers, 40 per cent. of those of female lead-makers. In 1890, out of 78 lying-in women, who had been occupied in the type foundries of the district of Wiesbaden, only 37 had a normal delivery. Furthermore, according to Dr. Hirt, the manufacture of colored paper and artificial flowers, the so-called powdering of Brussels lace with white lead, the preparation of decalcomany pictures, the on-laying of mirrors, the manufacture of rubber goods, in short, all occupations at which the working-women are exposed to the inhalation of carbonic acid gases, are especially dangerous from the second half of pregnancy onward. Highly dangerous is also the manufacture of phosphorus matches and work in the shoddy mills. According to the report of the Baden Trades Inspector for 1893, the yearly average of premature births with women engaged in industry rose from 1,039 in the years 1882-1886, to 1,244 in the years 1887-1891. The number of births that had to be aided by an operation averaged for the period of 1882-1886 the figures of 1,118 a year, and for the period of 1886-1891 it averaged 1,385. Facts much graver than any of these would come to light if similar investigations were held also in the more industrially developed countries and provinces of Germany. As a rule the Inspectors are satisfied with stating in their reports: "No special injurious effects were discovered in the employment of women in the factories." How could they discover any, with their short visits and without drawing upon medical advice? That, moreover, there are great dangers to life and limb, especially in the textile industry, in the manufacture of explosives and in work with agricultural machinery, is an established fact. Even a glance at the above and quite incomplete list will tell every reader that a large number of these occupations are among the hardest and most exhausting even to men. Let people say as they please, this work or that is not suitable for woman; what boots the objection if no other and more suitable occupation is furnished her?

Among the branches of industry, or special occupations in the same, that Dr. Hirt[4] considers girls should not be at all employed in, by reason of the danger to health, especially with an eye to their sexual functions, are: The preparation of bronze colors, of velvet and glazed paper, hat making, glass grinding, lithography, flax combing, horsehair twisting, fustian pulling, iron tinning, and work in the flax and shoddy mill.

In the following trades, young girls should be occupied only when the necessary protective measures (ventilation, etc.) are properly provided for: The manufacture of paper matting, china ware, lead pencils, shot lead, etherial oils, alum, blood-lye, bromium, chinin, soda, paraffin and ultramarine (poisonous) colored paper, wafers that contain poison, metachromotypes, phosphorous matches, Schweinfurt green and artificial flowers. Also in the cutting and sorting of rags, sorting and coloring of tobacco leaf, cotton beating, wool and silk carding, cleaning of bed feathers, sorting pencil hairs, washing (sulphur) straw hats, vulcanizing and melting rubber, coloring and printing calico, painting lead soldiers, packing snuff, wire netting, on-laying of mirrors, grinding needles and steel pens.

Truly, it is no inspiring sight to see women, and even pregnant ones, at the construction of railroads, pushing heavily laden wheelbarrows in competition with men; or to watch them as helpers, mixing mortar and cement or carrying heavy loads of stone at the construction of houses; or in the coal pits and iron works. All that is womanly is thereby rubbed off from woman, her womanliness is trodden under foot, the same as, conversely, all manly attributes are stripped from the men in hundreds of other occupations. Such are the sequels of social exploitation and of social war. Our corrupt social conditions turn things topsy-turvy.

It is, accordingly, easy to understand that, considering the extent to which female labor now prevails, and threatens to make still further inroads in all fields of productive activity, the men, highly interested in the development, look on with eyes far from friendly, and that here and there the demand is heard for the suppression of female labor and its prohibition by law. Unquestionably, with the extension of female labor, the family life of the working class goes ever more to pieces, the dissolution of marriage and the family is a natural result, and immorality, demoralization, degeneration, diseases of all natures and child mortality increase at a shocking pace. According to the statistics of population of the Kingdom of Saxony, child mortality has greatly increased in all those cities that become genuine manufacturing places during the last 25 or 30 years. During the period 1880-1885 there died in the cities of Saxony, on an average, 28.5 per cent. of the live-births during the first year of life. In the period of 1886-1890, 45.0 of the live-births died in Ernsthal during the first year of their lives, 44.5 in Stolling, 40.4 in Zschopau, 38.9 in Lichtenstein, 38.3 in Thum, 38.2 in Meerane, 37.7 in Crimmitschau, 37.2 in Burgstaedt, 37.1 in Werdau, 36.5 in Ehrenfriedersdorf, 35.8 in Chemnitz, 35.5 in Frankenberg, 35.2 in Buchholz, 35.1 in Schneeberg, 34.7 in Lunzenau, 34.6 in Hartha, 34.5 in Geithaim, etc.[5] Worse yet stood things in the majority of the large factory villages, quite a number of whom registered a mortality of 40 to 50 per cent. Yet, all this notwithstanding, the social development, productive of such sad results, is progress,—precisely such progress as the freedom to choose a trade, freedom of emigration, freedom to marry, and the removal of all other barriers, thus promoting the development of capitalism on a large scale, but thereby also giving the death-blow to the middle class and preparing its downfall.

The working class is not inclined to help the small producer, should he attempt the re-establishment of restrictions to the freedom to choose a trade and of emigration, or the restoration of the guild and corporation restrictions, contemplated with the end in view of artificially keeping dwarf-production alive for a little while longer,—more than that is beyond their power. As little is a return possible to the former state of things with regard to female labor, but that does not exclude stringent laws for the prevention of the excessive exploitation of female and child labor, and of children of school age. In this the interests of the working class coincides with the interests of the State, of humanity, in general, and of civilization. When we see the State compelled to lower the minimum requirements for military service—as happened several times during the last decades, the last time in 1893, when the army was to be further increased—and we see such lowering of the minimum requirements resorted to for the reason that, as a result of degenerating effects of our economic system, the number of young men unfit for military service becomes ever larger,—when we see that, then, forsooth, all are interested in protective measures. The ultimate aim must be to remove the ills, that progress—such as machinery, improved means of production and the whole modern system of labor—has called forth, while at the same time causing the enormous advantages, that such progress is instinct with for man, and the still greater advantages it is capable of, to accrue in full measure to all the members of society, by means of a corresponding organization of human labor.

It is an absurdity and a crying wrong that the improvements and conquests of civilization—the collective product of all—accrue to the benefit of those alone who, in virtue of their material power, are able to appropriate them to themselves, while, on the other hand, thousands of diligent workingmen are assailed with fear and worry when they learn that human genius has made yet another invention able to multiply many fold the product of manual labor, and thereby opening to them the prospect of being thrown as useless and superfluous upon the sidewalk.[6] Thus, that which should be greeted with universal joy becomes an object of hostility, that in former years occasioned the storming of many a factory and the demolition of many a new machine. A similar hostile feeling exists to-day between man and woman as workers. This feeling also is unnatural. The point, consequently, is to seek to establish a social condition in which *the full equality of all without distinction of sex shall be the norm of conduct.*

The feat is feasible—the moment all the means of production become the property of society; when collective labor, by the application of all technical and scientific advantages and aids in the process of production, reaches the highest degree of fertility; and when the obligation lies upon all, capable of work, to furnish a certain measure of labor to society, necessary for the satisfaction of social wants, in exchange whereof society guarantees to each and all the means requisite for the development of his faculties and for the enjoyment of life.

Woman shall be like man, a productive and useful member of society, equal-righted with him. Precisely like man, she shall be placed in position to fully develop all her physical and mental faculties, to fulfil her duties, and to exercise her rights. A free being and the peer of man, she is safe against degradation.

We shall point out how modern developments in society run out into such a state of things, and that it is these very crass and monstrous ills in modern development that compel the establishment of the New Order.

Although the development of the position of woman, as above characterized, is palpable, is tangible to the sight of all who have eyes to see, the twaddle about the "natural calling" of woman is heard daily, assigning her to domestic duties and the family. The phrase is heard loudest there where woman endeavors to penetrate into the sphere of the so-called higher professions, as for instance, the higher departments of instruction and of the civil service, the medical or legal careers, and the pursuit of the natural sciences. The most laughable and absurd objections are fetched up, and are defended with the air of "learning." Gentlemen, who pass for learned, appeal, in this as in so many other things, to science in order to defend the most absurd and untenable propositions. Their chief trump card is that woman is inferior to man in mental powers and that it is folly to believe she could achieve aught of importance in the intellectual field.

These objections, raised by the "learned," fit so well with the general prejudices entertained by men on the calling and faculties of woman that, whoever makes use of them can count upon the applause of the majority.

New ideas will ever meet with stubborn opposition so long as general culture and knowledge continue at so low an ebb as at present, especially if it lies in the interest of the ruling classes to confine culture and knowledge as much as possible to their own ranks. Hence new ideas will at the start win over but a small minority, and this will be scoffed at, maligned and persecuted. But if these new ideas are good and sound, if they are born as the necessary consequence of existing conditions, then will they spread, and the one-time minority finally becomes a majority. So has it been with all new ideas in the course of history: the idea of establishing the complete emancipation of woman presents the same experience.

Were not one time the believers in Christianity a small minority? Did not the Protestant Reformers and modern bourgeoisdom once face overpowering adversaries? And yet they triumphed. Was the Social Democracy crippled because gagged and pinioned by exclusion laws, so that it could not budge? Never was its triumph more assured than when it was thought to have been killed. The Social Democracy overcame the exclusion laws; it will overcome quite other obstacles besides.

The claim regarding the "natural calling of woman," according whereto she should be housekeeper and nurse, is as unfounded as the claim that there will ever be kings because, since the start of history, there have been such somewhere. We know not where the first king sprang up, as little as we know where the first capitalist stepped upon the scene. This, however, we do know: Kingship has undergone material changes in the course of the centuries, and the tendency of development is to strip it ever more of its powers, until a time comes, no longer far away, when it will be found wholly superfluous. As with the kingship, so with all other social and political institutions; they are all subject to continuous changes and transformations, and to final and complete decay. We have seen, in the course of the preceding historic sketch, that the form of marriage, in force to-day, like the position of woman, was by no means such "eternally"; that, on the contrary, both were the product of a long process of development, which has by no means reached its acme, and can reach it only in the future. If 2,400 or 2,300 years ago Demosthenes could designate the "bringing forth of legitimate children and officiating as a faithful warder of the house" as the only occupation of woman, to-day we have traveled past that point. Who, to-day, would dare uphold such a position of woman as "natural" without exposing himself to the charge of belittling her? True enough, there are even to-day such sots, who share in silence the views of the old Athenian; but none dare proclaim publicly that which 2,300 years ago one of the most eminent orators dared proclaim frankly and openly as *natural.* Therein lies the great advance made.

If, on the one hand, modern development, especially in industrial life, has wrecked millions of marriages, it, on the other hand, promoted favorably the development itself of marriage. Only a few decades ago, and it was a matter of course in every citizen's or peasant's house not only that woman sewed, knitted and washed—although even this has now extensively gone out of fashion—but she also baked the bread, spun, wove, bleached, brewed beer, boiled soap, made candles. To have a piece of wearing apparel made out of the house was looked upon as unutterable waste. Water-pipes, gaslight, gas and oil cooking ranges—to say nothing of the respective electric improvements—together with numberless others, were wholly unknown to the women of former times. Antiquated conditions exist even to-day, but they are the exception. The majority of women have discontinued many an occupation, formerly considered of course, the same being attended to in factory and shop better, more expeditiously and cheaper than the housewife could, whence, at least in the cities, all domestic requirements for them are wanting. Thus, in the period of a few decades, a great revolution for them has been accomplished within our family life, and we pay so little attention to the fact because we consider it a matter of course. Phenomena, that develop, so to speak, under the very eyes of man, are not noticed by him, unless they appear suddenly and disturb the even tenor of events. He bristles up, however, against new ideas that threaten to lead him out of the accustomed ruts.

The revolution thus accomplished in our domestic life, and that progresses ever further, has altered the position of woman in the family, in other directions besides. Woman has become freer, more independent. Our grandmothers, if they were honest masters' wives, would not have dared, and, indeed the thought never crossed their minds, to keep their working people and apprentices from the table, and visiting, instead, the theatres, concerts and pleasure resorts, by day at that. Which of those good old women dared think of occupying her mind with public affairs, as is now done by many women? To-day they start societies for all manner of objects, establish papers, call conventions. As working-women they assemble in trades unions, they attend the meetings and join the organizations of men, and here and there—we are speaking of Germany—they have had the right of electing boards of labor arbitration, a right that the backward majority of the Reichstag took away again from them in the year of grace one thousand eight hundred and ninety.

What sot would seek to annul the changes just described, although the fact is not to be gainsaid that, there are also dark sides to the bright sides of the picture, consequent upon our seething and decaying conditions? The bright sides, however, predominate. Women themselves, however conservative they are as a body, have no inclination to return to the old, narrow, patriarchal conditions of former times.

In the United States society still stands, true enough, on bourgeois foundations; but it is forced to wrestle neither with old European prejudices nor with institutions that have survived their day. As a consequence American society is far readier to adopt new ideas and institutions that promise advantage. For some time the position of woman has been looked upon from a viewpoint different than ours. There, for instance, the idea has long taken hold that it is not merely troublesome and improper, but not even profitable to the purse, for the wife to bake bread and brew beer, but that it is unnecessary for her to cook in her own kitchen. The private kitchen is supplanted by co-operative cooking, with a large central kitchen and machinery. The women attend to the work by turns, and the meals generally come out cheaper, taste better, offer a greater variety, and give much less trouble. Our army officers, who are not decried as Socialists and Communists, act on a similar plan. They establish in their casinos a co-operative kitchen: appoint a steward, who attends to the supply of victuals on a large scale; the bill of fare is arranged in common; and the food is prepared in the steam kitchen of the barracks. They live much cheaper than in a hotel, and fare at least as well. Furthermore, thousands of the rich families live the whole year, or part of the year, in boarding-houses or hotels, without in any way missing the private kitchen. On the contrary, they consider it a great convenience to be rid of it. The aversion of especially well-to-do women towards all matters connected with the kitchen does not seem to indicate that this function either belongs to the category of the "natural calling" of woman. On the contrary, the circumstance that princely and other prominent families do like the hotels, and all of them engage male cooks for the preparation of their food, would rather indicate that cooking is a male occupation.—All of which is stated for the benefit of those people who are unable to picture to themselves a woman without brandishing a kitchen ladle.

It is but a step to set up, beside the central kitchen, also the central laundry and corresponding steaming arrangements for public use—as already established in all large cities by rich private persons or speculators, and found highly profitable. With the central kitchen may also be connected central heating, warm water along with cold water pipes, whereby a number of bothersome and time-consuming labors are done away with. Large hotels, many private houses, hospitals, schools, barracks, etc., have now these and many other such arrangements, such as electric light and baths. The only fault to find is that only public establishments and the well-to-do classes enjoy these advantages. Placed within the reach of all, an enormous amount of time, trouble, labor and material could be saved, and the standard of life and the well being of all raised considerably. In the summer of 1890, the papers published a description of the progress made in the United States in the matter of centralized heating and ventilation. It was there stated:

"The recent attempts, made especially in North America, to effect the heating of whole blocks of houses or city wards from one place have to record no slight success. From the constructive point of view, they have been carried out so carefully and effectively that, in view of the favorable results and the financial advantages which they offer, their further extension may be confidently expected. More recently the attempt is being made to furnish from central locations not heat alone, but also fresh air, either warm or cool, to certain extensive but not too wide areas of the city. These plans are found in execution in the so-called Timby System, which, according to the central organ of the Department of Buildings, gathered from a report of the technical attaché in Washington, Government Architect Petri, has recently been thoroughly explained in Washington by the 'National Heating and Ventilating Company.' The said company originally planned to supply 50,000 people from one place. The difficulties presented by the requisite speed of transit and the size of the pneumatic machines, have, however, caused a limitation to 0.8 kilometers, and in instances of specially closely built business quarters, the building of a special central power place."

What was then only projected, has since been in great part executed. Philistine narrowness in Germany lives to shrug its shoulders at these and such like schemes, although in Germany also we find ourselves just now in the midst of one of those technical revolutions, that render the private kitchen, together with a number of other occupations, hitherto appertaining to the household, as superfluous as handicraft has been rendered by machinery and modern technique. In the early days of the nineteenth century, Napoleon pronounced insane the idea of constructing a ship that could be set in motion by steam. The idea of building a railroad was declared silly by many folks who passed for sensible: nobody, it was argued, could remain alive on such a conveyance: the rapidity of motion would deprive the passengers of breath. Identical treatment is to-day accorded to a number of new ideas. He who sixty years ago would have made to our women the proposition of replacing the carrying of water with water-pipes would have been exposed to the charge of trying to lead women and servants into idleness.

Nevertheless the great revolution in technique is in full march on all fields: nothing can any longer hold it back; and bourgeois society, having conjured the same into life, has the historic mission of also carrying the revolution to perfection, and to promote on all fields the budding of the germs for radical transformations, *which a social order, built on new foundations, would only have to generalize on a large scale, and make common property.*

The trend, accordingly, of our social life is not to banish woman back to the house and the hearth, as our "domestic life" fanatics prescribe, and after which they lust, like the Jews in the Desert after the flesh-pots of Egypt. *On the contrary, the whole trend of society is to lead woman out of the narrow sphere of strictly domestic life to a full participation in the public life of the people*—a designation that will not then cover the male sex only—and in the task of *human civilization.* Laveleye fully recognized this when he wrote:[7] "In the measure that what we are in the habit of designating as civilization advances, the sentiments of piety and the family bonds weaken, and they exercise a decreasing influence upon the actions of men. This fact is so general that a law of social development may be recognized therein." Not only has the position of woman changed, but also the relation of son and daughter to the family, who have gradually attained a degree of independence unknown in former days,—a fact noticeable especially in the United States, where the self-dependent and independent education of the individual is carried on much further than with us. The dark sides that to-day accompany also this form of development, are not necessarily connected with it; they lie in the social conditions of our times. Capitalist society evokes no benificent phenomenon unaccompanied with a dark side: as Fourier long ago pointed out with great perspicacity, capitalist society is in all its progressive steps double-faced and ambiguous.

With Laveleye, Schaeffle also detects in the changed character of the family of our days the effect of social development. He says:[8] "It is true that the tendency described in Chapter II, to reduce and limit the family to its specific functions is traceable throughout history. The family relinquishes one provisional and temporary function after the other. In so far as it officiated only in a surrogate and gap-filling capacity it makes way to independent institutions for law, order, authority, divine service, education, technique, etc., as soon as these institutions take shape."

To be Continued.

The publication of "Woman Under Socialism" began on Sunday, May 24, in The Sunday People, and in The Weekly People of May 30. It will appear in serial form in The Sunday and Weekly until completed, when it will be published in book form.

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[4] "Die gewerbliche Thätigkeit der Frauen."

[5] Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Königreich Sachsen auf das Jahr, 1894.

[6] Factory Inspector A. Redgrave delivered in the end of December, 1871, an address in Bradford, in the course of which he said: "I have been struck for some time past by the altered appearance of the wool factories. Formerly they were filled with women and children, now machinery seems to be doing all the work. On inquiry a manufacturer gave me the following information: 'Under the old system I employed 63 persons; after the introduction of improved machinery I reduced my hands to 33, and, later, in consequence of new and extensive alterations, I was able to reduce them from 33 to 13.' Thus, within a few years, a reduction of labor, amounting to almost 80 per cent. took place, with an output at least as large as before." Many interesting items of information on this subject are found in Marx's "Capital."

[7] "Original Property," chap. 20.

[8] "Bau und Leben des sozialen Körpers," Tübingen, 1878.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
IN 1902	**53,617**

BISHOP McFAUL'S ADMISSION.

In consecrating Charles H. Colton Bishop last Sunday, Bishop McFaul delivered an address. Of course, he touched upon Socialism adversely. It is now fully two years that it seems impossible for a member of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to perform any great ceremony without "paying his compliments" to Socialism. Fortunately in this instance there was a refreshing absence of the malignity and calumniousness that have hitherto characterized most of these utterances. In tackling and refuting Bishop McFaul's errors one need not first suppress his just indignation at malicious misrepresentation. One can approach the subject with full serenity.

The climax of Bishop McFaul's opposition to Socialism is found in this sentence:

> "Most modern evils can be remedied only by a return to the principles of Christianity—'do unto others as you would that they should do unto you.'"

This is a pregnant utterance, seeing the source it comes from. If the utterance means anything it is an admission that the great precept, "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you," is one more honored in the breach than the observance. Taking the utterance by itself and in its context, it is an admission that that sublime command is generally disregarded. And what else is the admission but a further admission of failure on the part of the ecclesiastics?

For two thousand years, in round figures, the ecclesiastics have had the field and been at work. At the end of that long period the situation is what Bishop McFaul now admits. In sight of so colossal a failure it would seem high time for the intelligent and well meaning among them to overhaul their canons.

"Human perversity" will not account for the state of things. At any rate, the theory is here out of court. The attitude of Bishop McFaul were silly if he held to the theory. It were silly to insist upon preaching benignity if one proceeds from the theory of ingrain "human perversity." That man is not inhuman to man because it is indelibly in his nature to be so is a principle that lies at the foundation of the conduct of all those who, as Bishop McFaul, preach that man should be human to man. If, then, despite all such preaching, and for so long a period of time, and with such matchless opportunities and means to boot, a member of the ecclesiastical brotherhood feels constrained to admit failure, the conclusion is inevitable that man's disobedience of the precept "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you," must flow from necessity—a necessity outside of himself.

What that necessity may be is obvious. Long before the actions of man are formulated in scientific form they are indicated by his acts. A notable act is recorded in a book that Bishop McFaul cannot rule out as unauthoritative. It is the New Testament. On the notable occasion when Jesus first fed with miraculous fish and bread the multitudes he was about to preach to, he did more than render homage to, he raised into conspicuousness a principle that has become cardinal in sociology—the MATERIAL BASIS NECESSARY FOR MORAL ELEVATION. And coming down to modern times, and still drawing proof from the Bishop's own camp, what is the language of the Roman Catholic hierarchy on the head of the temporal powers of the Holy See—a temporal power that the hierarchy is made to swear to uphold "usque ad effussionem sanguinis," up to the shedding of blood? It is this: "The Church can not properly administer her spiritual functions without temporal power." What else is this declaration but a further recognition of the necessity of material bases for moral action? Shall the Church, said to derive her origin from divine afflatus, be less able to forego the material basis than man? Surely not. What she pronounces herself unable to, can assuredly not be demanded of man. Man's inhumanity to man cannot cease, he will not be in condition to do unto others as he would like to be done by until the material conditions enable him to.

This irrefutable conclusion takes the question of the "modern evils" from the domain of theology and plants it squarely within the domain of sociology. It does so as completely as the question of "clothing" is removed from divinity and belongs in a tailor's shop.

Now, then, sociology teaches, political economy demonstrates, that the private ownership of the land on and of the machinery (capital) with which to work perforce turns society into a jungle of wild beasts. Competition for material existence, under such circumstances, compels man's inhumanity to man. Insecurity of life being the law of such social conditions, not the precept "Do unto others as you would like to be done unto," but the curse "Do others or you will be done by them" is forced upon the race. The truth of these teachings, summarized in the term Scientific Socialism, are, true enough, disputed, but those who do are constantly "proving" better things while worse follows. The cracking of the social structure, and its collapse everywhere, corroborate their falsity and the justice of Socialism.

He who would have the sublime precept, "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you," become the norm of human action must begin by laying the MATERIAL foundation for such SPIRITUAL superstructure. The Socialist Movement, with its avowed materialist and scientific basis, is the only organized force of the age that is making for that goal. All others have only failure to record, even where, less candid than Bishop McFaul, they are not honest enough to make the admission.

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POLITICAL PLUMBING.

Some innocent people imagine that the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic party is in politics. The concern is in the plumbing business, its occupation is "laying pipes." Now to the proof.

Several months ago, driven by the lashings of the Socialist Labor Party, which proved that "Socialist" party of aliases to be everything but that which it represented itself—not a revolutionary party for the emancipation of the working class, but a loving brother of the old capitalist parties, fusing with them right and left,—its National Committee took a bath. It seemed to cleanse itself of the defilement of fusion and to turn a new leaf. It did so by a resolution. The resolution pronounced against fusion in future and damned the practice. That was seven months ago.

Seven months elapse, and now the National Secretary of the concern, with headquarters at Omaha, makes a report, in which this passage occurs:

> "A motion to strike out the words, 'At the present stage of development of the Socialism movement of this country there is neither necessity nor excuse for such an alliance,' from the anti-fusion resolutions adopted by the National Committee at St. Louis, in February last, presented by National Committeeman Mills of Kansas, under date of April 1st, was adopted by a vote of 17 to 5."

In other words, the decision not to fuse has been reconsidered and repealed, and "at the present stage of development of the Socialist movement of this country there is both necessity and excuse for fusion." Which, again, means that the concern has decided to resume business at the old stand, and is now laying its pipes to fuse with any old thing.

This Bogus Socialist party has fused with Republicans in some places, with Democrats in others, with Republicans and Democrats simultaneously in still others, and everywhere it is in perpetual fusion with the Demo.-Rep. labor fakirs who deal in strikes. To pronounce against fusion is to cut its own throat. It imagined it could imitate the S. L. P. in the matter of uncompromising politics. It found out it could not. And now that elections are approaching it hastens to lay anew the pipes through which the fluid may flow that makes it kin with all that Socialism is at war with in the land.

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THE PARKSES AND THE DEPEWS.

What is called the "Sam Parks Case" is not one but many cases; it is a whole episode. But an episode in what? In the Labor Movement? In the Capitalist Movement? Let's see.

The work done by the housesmiths and bridgemen received quite a boom about six years ago. Simultaneously with that period, Samuel J. Parks arrived here from Chicago. Whether or not he was fetched by the Fuller Construction Company to engineer strikes against its competitors does not alter the case. As far as that industry was concerned, the field presented the aspect of a Western settlement in its early days, struggling for order. As in such settlements pistols and other weapons are the order of the day, so in this instance. The competing capitalist concerns held pistols at one another's heads. The opportunity was golden for the nerveful rowdy. It was Parks' opportunity. No better and no worse than the rioting capitalists in his trade, Parks decided to and did join the free fight. He differed from the competing "building" capitalists in that they had capital and he had none. He made up for that by his "labor" rank; like the "plebs leader" of old Rome, that was his capital. He "organized" the men. Some he "argued" into his body, others he knocked down into membership. On one occasion as many as seventeen dissenters were thrown down stairs by him with broken heads. He could not compete with the other concerns without an organization, so he forced one into existence, and he could not keep one into existence without he showed them some advantage gained. Accordingly, he wielded the body, about 5,000 strong, in such way that their wages rose from $2 to $4 and even $5. With a body held together by such tangible benefits he fought his own battle. Pistols being the vogue, and the capitalists pistoling one another, he pistoled all he could and lived in luxury.

Obviously this is no episode in the Labor Movement. It is a page of capitalist development. No more than the Depews, who claim to be "workingmen," can the Parkses be claimed as such. Neither seeks the emancipation of Labor; neither seeks the improvement of the condition of Labor except in so far as such improvement may promote his own interests; neither could get along without a wage slave class; neither seeks to abolish that class or imagines its abolition possible.

Many a workingman feels kind towards Parks to-day. In so far as they do, the episode has been lost upon them. To feel kind towards Parks is to accept capitalism as a finality. The point may be difficult to see. It is difficult to see. And for that very reason it must be emphasized. Upon that point turns the issue between bona fide Unionism—a necessary step towards progress—, and mala fide Unionism—a bulwark against Socialism. Between an Employers' Association and a Parks' Union, between a workingmen Depew and a workingmen Parks, there is no difference.

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THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM.

"Nile's Register" and the Pulitzer's New York "World." Here are two landmarks. The period that separates them is barely ninety years. And yet the chasm or cleft is deep—how deep may be judged by the event of a $2,000,000 fund offered by a Joseph Pulitzer to establish a school of journalism. The interval marked by "Nile's Register," at one end, and the "World," at the other end, virtually spans the nation's history and points to a development such as is seen in the life of man from the day of his birth, when his robustness gives promise of great things, and the day when he shuffles off this mortal coil, and is supposed to be ready for the higher spheres.

"Nile's Register" may be said to have been born with the Republic. Journalism, as then conceived and possible, was a truthful recording of events. With the qualification that telling the truth is not so easy a thing as it seems, even with the best of will, the journalism that gave birth to "Nile's Register" needed no "school." Those were the days of the youth of American capitalism, an exceptional youth. Youthful American capitalism, with unbounded natural resources at command and the tool of production in its infancy, was open-faced, ingenuous, veracious. So was its journalism. It had nobody to trick, and it did not seek to trick any. Tricks of the trade there were none, could be none, and none was to be learned. Thus stood matters when "Nile's Register" started.

Then also started the development. Its acme is reached in "yellow journalism," of which the Pulitzer "World" is an acknowledged type. The old days are gone. Capitalism having blossomed forth immensely, with all its quips and quiddities, its swindlers and swindled, its dupes and dupers, its blackmailees and blackmailers, its farce of advertisement, its circus features, its false news for speculations, its so-called "public ministry" pretensions; in short, having developed into a sink of unspeakable enormities, the face of journalism changed. It needs to be taught, just as the Fagin profession had to be carefully inculcated in his disciples. Such is the "journalism" for which a Pulitzer now feels the need of training its priesthood.

The only thing surprising in this move is that, for once, the suggestion comes from the right quarter, and thus carries its commentary with it.

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SOCIALIST VS. ANTI-SOCIALIST CLAIMS.

Socialism claims that the concentration of capital is increasing the wealth and the power of the few, crushing out the middle class and plunging the workers into ever greater misery. This claim is denied. It is asserted that, on the contrary, the concentration of capital through the medium of corporations, tends to increase the middle class in greater proportions than it increases the working class, by transforming them into wealthy stockholders, while it, at the same time, bestows even larger wages upon the workers. In fewer words, the anti-Socialists claim that with the concentration of capital there has come a democratization of wealth.

There are many figures which, upon a superficial examination, appear to substantiate this anti-Socialist claim. For instance, recently compiled statistics of manufacturers in Massachusetts show a tendency toward the growth of the corporate, or concentrated, form of industrial organization, at the expense of the partnership, or middle-class, form, that is accompanied by an increase of stockholders over defunct partners and increased wage workers, and an increase of wages.

The statistics referred to show that out of a total of 4,658 manufacturing establishments, those in the hands of private firms decreased from 3,217 in 1901 to 3,139 in 1902—a decrease of 2.42 per cent. in the number of establishments in the hands of middle-class private persons and an increase of 5.7 per cent. in the number under corporate management. In the same period, the number of partners decreased from 5,020 to 4,846, while the number of stockholders increased from 50,807 to 55,649. The decrease in the number of partners was 3.47 per cent., while the increase in the number of shareholders was 9.53 per cent. On the other hand, the number of wage workers employed in 1902 numbered 420,781, an increase of 25,547, or only 6.46 per cent. The average yearly earnings of the wage workers, without regard to sex or age, show an increase of from $449.69 in 1901 to $459.98 in 1902—an increase of 2.29 per cent.

As remarked above, there are many figures which, upon a superficial examination, seem to substantiate the anti-Socialist claim. These are some of those figures. Is the claim then substantiated? No; emphatically, no! and for the reasons, based on the other facts and figures, which follow:

In all the figures on stockholders, it is assumed that the numbers given represent just so many separate individuals. This is a fallacy; 52,000 stockholders may mean 520 individuals. Stockholding makes it possible for a capitalist to duplicate himself every time he invests in another corporation. For instance, J. P. Morgan is said to be director in eighty corporations. According to the stockholders-figures-fallacy there ought to be eighty J. P. Morgans. The fact is there is only one, though a mighty big one. Take another instance: In the Coal Trust hearing recently it was shown that the stockholders in the Temple Hill Iron and Coal Company, the Reading Coal and Iron Company, the Reading Railroad Company, the New Jersey Central Railroad Company, and other companies, were practically the same individuals, duplicated and reduplicated, according to their shares in these different companies.

From the foregoing it is safe to conclude that instead of showing an increase in the middle-class growth, the increase of stockholders shows an increase in the concentration of capital by a few, a conclusion that the court proceedings inaugurated by the small stockholders of newly formed corporations make doubly sure. From the foregoing, it also follows that the increase of employees is proportionately greater than the increase of alleged middle-class stockholders, and that, consequently, as the proportionately greater increase of employees means an increase of wage slavery, the position of the worker cannot be said to improve as capital concentrates. This fact will transpire more clearly when the increase of wages is considered.

As already pointed out above, wages increased in the establishments under consideration 2.29 per cent in 1902. During the same period there was an increase of 2.66 workdays, or .91 per cent., over the preceding year, so that the increase of wages was only 1 1-3 per cent. Compare this wage increase with the cost of living, which Bradstreet's shows increased 3.5 per cent. between June 1, 1901, and June 1, 1902, and 2.2 per cent., or a total of 5.7 per cent, in all, between June 1, 1902, and June 1, 1903;—compare this meagre increase with the increased value of the goods made by these workers, amounting to 8.66 per cent. more than in 1901, and it will be seen that wages under the concentrated form of capital have declined instead of increased.

Need more be said to prove that the "democratization" theory is false; and that Socialism is correct when it asserts that the concentration of capital is increasing the wealth and the power of the few, crushing out the middle class and plunging the workers into ever greater misery?

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GOOD FOR THE IRISH!

The statistical figures on suicide by the insurance statistician, Frederick L. Hoffman, amount to a compliment of high degree to the Irish. The figures show the Irish to be the most American of the foreign elements in this country—the most American on a leading feature of the American, appreciation of life. While with other elements of the population the ratio of suicide is 22 among the French and over 19 among the Germans, the low American ratio of 6.8 is even surpassed by the Irish with a ratio as low as 6.1.

A live dog is infinitely better than a dead lion. What dreams may come when this mortal coil has been shuffled off no one can tell. While there is life, there is a chance for all that is good and desirable. With death the chance is sealed up. The healthy mind in a healthy body enjoys life. Its sorrows are but like spots in a vast area of sun light. However many there may be of the former, the expanse of the latter is vaster. Time enough when accident or exhaustion brings death. Every laughter that can be laughed; every choice morsel that the body's or the intellect's palate can taste; every fruition that any of the senses can convey is a treasure not to be spurned. The treasure is rendered all the more precious for the intermingled sorrows or jars—like fire that flares up in all the more lambent flames for the drops of water dropped upon it. To voluntarily, deliberately quit the ravishing concert of life is like quitting one's box at the opera before the ticket has expired. It bespeaks a lack of musical taste; a lack of fitness.

That suicide is at so low a rate with the American is typical. To the glory of the Irish the ratio is even lower.

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"Tom" Johnson's triumph in Ohio will give the Bryan forces a new lease of life. But it will do them no good, as the middle-class elements which they represent are no longer economic and political factors in this country. Between capitalist parties, only those of the most advanced factions can win political success in this country. The campaign of 1896 settled that.

A Chicago weekly labor paper has a gorgeous three color cartoon that is meant to hit the trusts, but acts as a boomerang. The cartoon shows a circus ring. Surrounding this ring and standing on pedestals marked, "Cracker Trust," "Beef Trust," etc., are a number of capitalist clowns. They hold up rings of tissue paper on which appear the words "High Prices," and through which an affrightened individual, called "The Public," leaps from a donkey bearing the words, "Low Wages."

The point of the cartoon can only be appreciated when it is known that this same labor paper continually harps on "The great advances in wages gained by organized labor." Cartoons, generally, do not hit the newspapers printing them.

The independent tobacco manufacturers claim to have increased their business 50 per cent. in less than twelve months, owing to the attempts of the American Tobacco Company (the trust) to secure control of the retail tobacco trade. They are, nevertheless, working to have Congress pass an anti-premium bill which they declare will be of inestimable benefit to them, and strike a serious blow at the aggressions of the tobacco trust. Considering the increased business claimed by these independent manufacturers, one is perplexed and inclined to wonder why they want to administer "serious blows" to the "aggressions" from which they profit so much? Why not have more aggressions and increase the business one hundred and fifty, instead of fifty, per cent?

THE FUNCTION OF THE INTELLECT.

The following letter reached this office from the correspondent in Brigham, Utah:

"Some time ago you answered W. A. E., Salt Lake City, Utah, through the Letter-Box:

"'Capitalism does not need to "run its course" before Socialism can be ushered in. There is where the human agency, or the agency of the human intellect can and should come to the help of evolution. It is not necessary for the human race to go through every painful link of the painful chain of the evolutionary process. The human intellect having gathered sufficient facts to establish its scientific theory, and being enabled (as science only enables) to foresee and thereby discover the law of social evolution, can spare the race the sufferings it would otherwise have to undergo by waiting till capitalism had "run its course."'

"1st. Is it a misconception of the materialist conception of history to assume that it is material environment that is the prime factor in shaping and developing the human intellect?

"2. If the human intellect has gathered sufficient facts,' etc., is it not because the environment has enabled, or rather caused it to do so?

"3d. That granted, does it not follow, capitalist society being the environment and the intellectual status of the people (the race) its outgrowth, that when conditions are ripe for the Socialist Republic, and the human intellect able and ready to establish it, that capitalism has already 'run its course,' and that the race has already been through each 'painful link of the painful chain of the evolutionary process'?

"Is this good logic—if not, where did I 'fly the track'?"

A boil has not "run its course" until it has gathered to a head the impurities that it was a symptom of. So with capitalism. It can not be said to have "run its course" until it has reached the logical fulness of its premises. For capitalism to have "run its course" competition must be at end—both the competition of the primary capitalist stage carried on among many small holders, and also the competition of the secondary capitalist stage carried on among few surviving large holders. Each of these two stages and also the final or complete stage of monopoly, when the boil may be said to have "run its course," together with the thousand intermediary stages of disssolution and re-formation on a more advanced stage, are "painful links" in the "painful chain" of the evolutionary process.

Now, then, it is unnecessary for the human race to go through this detailed experience—every link in this long chain—before it is fit and ready to establish Socialism; nor is the theory of such an anticipation of the fullness of events at fisticuffs with the materialist conception of history. On the contrary. The materialist conception of history points to certain material conditions as pre-requisites for certain perceptions. The material conditions that embitter competition with the train of consequences, point quite clearly, long before even the present stage of capitalism is reached, that Socialism is the solution of the ills that have sprung up and of the greater ones that are inductively perceived. Every one does not realize that. As the skin of every man is not equally thin to feel a certain outside material fact, neither is the mind's eye of all equally penetrating. Obviously, if the human race were universally gifted with a Marx' eye, it would not wait, that is have to be taught by a piling up of the agony (go through each painful link of the painful evolutionary chain). It would forestall the storm, that is, it would "take evolution by the hand." In fact, such is the mission of science. It conveys prescience. Being science it must stand upon material facts: and being science it can foresee. As the Marxes are few, a large number of facts are necessary to quicken the perception of the masses. The less clear the eye, all the broader premises are required by it. It is the exaggeration of these principles that, on the one hand, brings forth the Utopian or sanguine, and, on the other, the Pessimist—two extremes that are equally fatal. While the former will rush at conclusions without the requisite premises, the latter thinks so poorly of the human intellect that it hopes for nothing from it until it is utterly crushed with the facts—until it has gone through the very last link of the evolutionary process. While the former will be visionary, the latter may be too slow.

The specific spot where our correspondent "flies the track" is the theory implied in this third paragraph that for capitalism to have "run its course" and to be "seen through" are synonymous terms. They are not.

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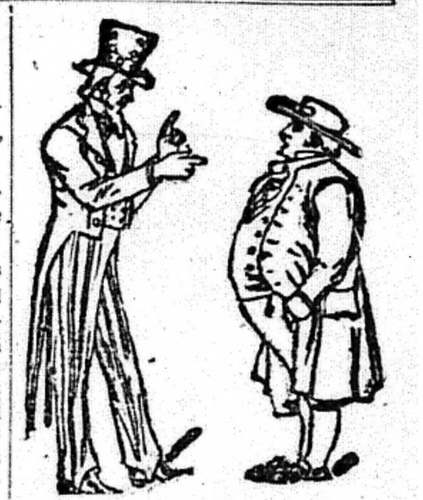
The following little bits of news, tucked away in the corner of a commercial newspaper, under the head, "Railroad Notes," will give an idea of the industrial trend of the times:

> "The statement is made by a vice-president of the Pennsylvania that he is not aware that the services of 1,500 men are to be dispensed with. He adds that officials have been instructed to cut down their forces without impairing the efficiency of the service. It is intimated that the large number reported discharged is due to letting out a majority of the army of men hired when the great congestion of last winter prevailed."



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN

BROTHER JONATHAN—Oh, how cruel those Socialists are!

UNCLE SAM—Inasmuch as to which?

B. J.—And so inconsiderate!

U. S.—For instance?

B. J.—And they care not whether their juggernaut car tramples down women, children, the widow or the weak!

U. S.—Are you sure?

B. J.—Yes; just think of it. Say that a lone widow has just one tenement house. The Socialists would take that away from her and let her starve.

U. S.—Where is that widow?

B. J.—Where?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—I don't know.

U. S.—Nor anybody else. That lone widow is a myth; the whole yarn is a myth, and a very clumsy one.

B. J. fumbles in his pocket as if looking for the lone widow.

U. S.—The yarn is clumsy because, suppose that there is such a widow, whose only source of living is a tenement, your position amounts to this: that it is better that one lone widow should live than that scores of children should live.

B. J.—How so?

U. S.—These tenements are death traps. Ventilation is impossible without drafts. The space is so small that privacy, and consequently, decency, is impossible. The body and the mind of the child in those pest-holes are undermined. The morality of children in tenements is something shocking. And those who survive are apt to be stunted in mind and body. Now, say you, "let it be: let the children die and grow rickety rather than remove that tenement and let the widow die!" The Socialist, on the other hand says: "If there be such a 'lone widow,' such a cormorant, unable to live unless children be sacrificed wholesale, then let her be the one sacrificed, tear down her tenement, and, along with it the social system that sacrifices the toiling masses in order that the few might live in clover!"

B. J. looks knocked out.

U. S.—Now who is the cruel fellow, the Socialist who would extirpate deathtraps, or the fellow whose libel you repeat like a parrot?

B. J. keeps silent.

U. S. (poking B. J. in the ribs)—Lost your impudent voice? Answer!

B. J.—The cruel one is not the Socialist.

U. S.—No, not he. Neither is he the inconsiderate one. Just the contrary! Under your capitalist system every new machine, being private property, brings on endless misery to many; and the misery it brings on is justified with speeches about "progress." The Socialist Republic would not rest satisfied with wrenching from your "lone widow" capitalist system the weapon whereby it to-day cruelly treats the masses, and let her succumb. Having seen, and by the very fact of seeing, to the masses the Socialist Republic would afford your "lone widow" cormorant capitalists a chance to earn a decent livelihood and become useful members of society. Now don't be a parrot again.

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The profound executive ability possessed by the "captains of industry" is receiving severe exposure in the trial of the London promoter, Whittaker Wright. Associated with Wright, in one of his bogus concerns, was the late Lord Dufferin, director, i. e., "captain of industry," in many corporations. The prosecutor of Wright declares that the famous speech of Lord Dufferin, delivered at the shareholders meeting of the bogus London and Globe Finance Corporation, was written by Wright. The responsibility, consequently, rests with him.

In making this declaration the prosecutor simply reveals the fact disclosed in divers ways before, viz., that the profound executive ability of "the captains of industry" is the work of others, generally designated as competent subordinates, i. e., as salaries employees. It is they who write corporation speeches and prepare the reports accompanying them. It is they who perform the actual task of directing and managing, and it is they who, as in the case of the employees of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, in the Park avenue tunnel disaster of some years ago, must bear the responsibility, while the "captains of industry" reap the rewards in the shape of profits and dividends.

How long will the working class continue to do this work, and receive nothing but blame?

Sammy Gompers, in his usual bombastic style, so full of hints of impending rain, has declared the Western Union Telegraph Company on the unfair list. It does not require a very vigorous imagination to picture to what the stock exchanges, railroads, industrial corporations, press associations, and other capitalist concerns dependent on the Western Union for the telegraphic transmission of information absolutely essential to their interests, will hasten to Gompers' support and enforce the boycott. To boycott successfully a monopoly so supported is not within the power of even the great Sammy and his greater Federation. Only Socialism can settle any working class grievance against such a monopoly.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, beside their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

SECTION ERIE, PA., IN EARNEST.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Section Erie had quite an interesting open air meeting last evening at the corner of Tenth and State streets. There was about seventy-five people present, mostly working men, and they seemed to be very much impressed with the facts that were presented for their consideration.

We stated that the labor problem was the only issue for working men to consider, and that the only solution was the complete overthrow of capitalism—with all its attendant evils. For this reason the S. L. P. proposed to erect the Socialist Republic, in which every worker could, and would have, equal opportunities, the control of the political powers, and the full proceeds of their labors.

We explained to the audience that all capitalists—including the so-called "Socialist" Party—depended upon dividing the working class into their various parties to retain the present system of economic inequality.

We especially warned the workingmen not to be misled into voting for "the government ownership of industries," as advocated by McGrady in his pamphlet, "Socialism and The Labor Problem." McGrady says that under Socialism "the immense profits now accruing to the stock holders will be used in the reduction of rates, and the increase of wages," P. 18, and he gets $50 per night for introducing that kind of a reform!

We also pointed out the fact that if the government owned the various industries of the nation, a strike would be a revolt against the government, and that treason is generally punished by death. More than that the working class would be forced out of the political field, as under the civil service law we could vote but could not take an active part in politics, and, as a result, our oppressors would be more firmly entrenched in power; they would rule with an iron hand, and the working class would be enslaved.

On the other hand we told them that the important thing at present was for the working class to unite at the ballot-box and secure the control of the government before it was too late. Then we would be secure and would at last be able to say "we are free!"

The comrades are in earnest here and they distributed leaflets 'The Difference' and not a few copies of The Monthly People.

An opportunity to ask questions was extended to anyone—but none took advantage of the offer, although Wanhope, the editor of the "Erie People" was present. He claims that he was formerly a member of Section Chicago, S. L. P. It does seem strange that the Kangs love us so well that they steal our party name, and that of our paper.

Nevertheless Section Erie, S. L. P., has determined to force the fight, and we expect that there will be "something doing" in this part of the Keystone State from now on.

Jer. Devine.

Erie, Penn., Aug. 20th.

THE OLD VIRILE PEOPLE!

A. C. Kihn, Treas. D. P. Fin. Com:—

Dear Comrade.—I received the loan certificate in due time, but circumstances prevented an earlier acknowledgment. Was very much surprised to learn I was the first subscriber from Maryland. Surely the Baltimore Comrades must have been napping to let this honor go to a ruralist here in the mountains.

I have been a diligent reader of The People from the time I first learned of its existence. That was previous to the attempted capture of the party's press by the Kangeroos. The fact, however, that they succeeded in stealing the mailing lists caused an interruption of several months. The Bogus came regularly, and regularly rehearsed the yarn that "the De Leon crowd" and the S. L. P. had gone glimmering—scattered to the four winds. Oh, but I shall never forgive them for the way they lied to me and deceived me! Conceive my joy, then, when, one day, I received through the mail (from what source I know not) a copy of the "De Leon," the S. L. P. People—the old, virile People with the true revolutionary ring in it. Gad, but I was glad! The People and the S. L. P. were still alive, and as young, active and aggressive as ever! Needless to say, as soon as I could get my fingers on the money it went direct to the People office.

The plan of Section N. Y. for paying off the debt in an admirable one and should receive the hearty endorsement of all members and sympathizers. For my part I am proud to be able in this way to identify myself with the movement and to claim a small share in the glory that will be undoubtedly theirs who succeed in solidly and securely establishing the first truly Socialist and revolutionary press in this land.

Rally to the press, comrades; make it absolutely our very own, and let the funds that now go to waste in the shape of interest, etc., be applied to furnishing the cause with new weapons of attack.

Fraternally,
Francis Tiddy.

Alle. Co., Md., Aug. 21st.

AS TO STREET METINGS.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Another successful open air meeting was held in the sixth A. D. last Friday evening. The chairman made a few remarks and then introduced Comrade Corregan who spoke until 10 o'clock, when the meeting was adjourned. Thirty-two pamphlets and a few German papers wese sold. We distributed about 700 leaflets. Every one present at the meeting got a copy of "The Difference" and "Workingmen and the Trust." At all our meetings we intend to distribute "The Difference" so that people may know that we are the only bona-fide Socialist party in the field and not be taken in by any fake parties.

We are in favor of closing street meetings at 10 o'clock or a little after, believing that the only thing to be accomplished by keeping them up longer is to break down the speakers. And when meetings are adjourned at a reasonable hour only two speakers are required, which makes it possible to hold a greater number of meetings.

Agitation Committee.

New York, Aug. 23rd.

SALEM KNOWS MITCHELL.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Section Salem held another successful open air meeting with Comrade Murphy of Lynn as speaker.

About 400 workingmen listened attentively to the remarks of the speaker, who lashed mercilessly the labor fakirs, the Kangaroos, et al.

The Kangaroos, who believe that they can break up our meetings by asking questions, tried to prejudice the crowd against the S. L. P. for attacking Mitchell, but were badly disappointed, as the audience was with us and staid from 8 to 10.30, taking in all the speaker had to say. Our section is prepared to tolerate all fakirs that make their appearance at our meetings. We shall continue to expose the corrupt elements of labor movement regardless of obstacles that may be placed in our way.

We shall hold another meeting Saturday next and prove once more to the workingmen of Salem that the Republican, Democratic and "Socialist" parties are all one and are closely allied with the betrayers of labor.

J. White.

Salem, Mass., Aug. 22.

STIRRING UP THE ANIMALS.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—We are stirring up "the wild animals" in Pueblo. Comrades Veal and Vaughan are holding nightly meetings. With the "Kangaroo" freaks, Hazlett and Strickland, on the opposite corner with their middle class followers it is easy for them to show the working class audiences that stand patiently and listen, "The Difference."

We are selling some literature and getting some subs to both the Weekly and Monthly, but the absence of "coin" in the pockets of the workers and the fact that many are laying on the shelf waiting for a "boss" keeps us from selling more; but we've stopped the "Socialists" collection graft for awhile anyhow.

J. A. Knight.

Pueblo, Col., Aug. 19.

BOSTON WON'T DOWN.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The Second Aldermanic District Branch (Charlestown), of Section Boston, Mass., S. L. P., recently held two open-air meetings in the Charlestown division of the city. The first was held at the junction of Park and Warren streets, a place where the bogus crowd usually hold forth.

The meeting was well attended. Comrades M. T. Berry being the speaker. A number of sample copies of The People were distributed and four copies of "What Means This Strike?" sold. A number of questions were asked and answered, and while the speaker was in the midst of a scathing denunciation of the bogus "Socialists" and their scab-furnishing tactics, the literary agent sold a copy of "Two Pages from Roman History" to the Charlestown leader of the bogus gang.

The second meeting was held on the evening of August 21 at Hayes Square, and at this the mettle of the S. L. P. was tested. When the comrades arrived to open the meeting they witnessed a spectacle that betokens the unrest in the Democratic camp caused by our agitation in this their stronghold. The Democratic headquarters are close by and the district is infested by as vicious a gang of heelers and gutersnipe politicians as can be found anywhere.

The spectacle referred to was that of the freak single-taxer, Doherty, who is recognized as a willing tool of the Democratic party, holding forth to an audience in the middle of the square. A number of his listeners were Democratic camp followers, who were there for a purpose, as will be seen later. But there was also a considerable number of honest workingmen in and around the square.

It is our custom to notify the superintendent of the police department of time and place of our meetings, and when we arrived we asked the policeman present why Doherty had been allowed to go ahead in the place we had notified them of intending to use. He stated that the station had been notified that a meeting would be held without stating by whom, so the first to come was let start. Our speaker informed him that the S. L. P. meeting would start at the usual time just the same—and it did.

When the chairman mounted the platform to speak he was met with jeers and laughter from "de gang," but it didn't jar him a bit. The speaker, Comrade Murphy of Lynn, when introduced was up against not only the single tax orator (save the mark), but had to also contend with the jeers and shouts of the ward heelers, their cheering for future candidates of the Democrats, the singing started by a gang of toughs, and finally the approach of a policeman informing us that we would have to give way. He was politely but firmly informed that the meeting would be proceeded with despite all opposition, as we did not propose to be bluffed out of our right to do so. Presently the sergeant called him away and sent another cop to preserve order.

Something nearer to order then prevailed, but the single-taxer and his little bunch of supporting heelers still tried to hang on. The S. L. P. speaker was only just getting warmed up, and he went on hammering away in great shape at the capitalist parties, the bogus "Socialists" and the freak and his minions who were trying so hard to outdo us and prevent us from delivering our message to the working class of Charlestown.

Before long the freak and his Democratic friends, discovering that their efforts were of no avail, went down and out, leaving the field to the sturdy little band of S. L. P. fighters, who there under the shadow of Bunker Hill Monument taught to the lackeys of capitalism a lesson similar to that given the lackeys of King George by the "embattled farmers" on the same shore of the Charles River in the days of our ancesters at Bunker Hill and Lexington.

Questions were asked and answered at this meeting also, and copies of "What Means This Strike?" sold, and the working class in and around Hayes Square shown that the Socialist Labor Party will not down at the behest of the tools of the enemies of the class it represents—the wage-working class.

M. G. Power.

For Agitation Committee,
Section Boston, S. L. P.

COLUMBUS CAPITALISTS AROUSED.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Saturday evening we were ordered not to speak by the police. We had no bondsman, so we quit speaking, as we did not care to sit in jail all day Sunday. Next Tuesday evening we will make a test case of it here in Columbus, O.

The fight is on. The capitalists are beginning to feel our onward march. The crowds at our meetings are appreciating our teachings. We sell from fifteen to twenty pamphlets at every meeting. If prison life for a few is the price of liberty to the many, then give me the bars. Fraternally,

Otto Steinhoff.

Columbus, O., Aug. 23.

BUFFALO BREVITIES.

A. C. Kuhn, Dear Comrade: Enclosed please find a bank check for $45 and two applications for Daily People loan certificates.

To-day is our picnic. While there I expect to see most of our comrades. I have only four more applications left. Will try and dispose of them, if possible, and send for more. I hope the comrades all over the country are keeping it up.

Buffalo will have "a great treat" today. Carey, the armory builder of Massachusetts, and Hanford, of New York city are here. I have no doubt James will inspect the new armory now being built here, and see that it will have the latest improvements. I am sorry (sic) I can't see him. Yours for the Cause,

Emil Hauk.

Buffalo, N. Y., Aug. 16.

THE COTTON GIN LOCKOUT.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The machinists are still locked out at the Cotton Gin Co.'s works. About eighteen members of the moulders union are scabbing it on the Machinists Union.

The following members of the Machinists Union have scabbed it also. Jerry Murphy, militiaman, came out and went back; Dutron, Chas. Bacon, Manuel Poleno, Frank Burdick, and Herbert Peckham, all of whom came out and went back also; Alvin Darling, Thomas Oldroyd, Elisha Crosby, James Morris Peckham and Dan Clark, who stayed in. Frank Kimme went to Mystic when lockout occurred, but came back and scabbed it.

The machinists have pickets about the works. They are sore on Labor Fakir Lambert, the Molder's Union Secretary. They are finding him out when it is too late.

Yours truly,
Adam Marx.

New London, Aug. 23.

A NEW CALUMNY NAILED.

I.

To The Daily and Weekly Poeple.—I enclose a statement that I made a cigar-maker put down when, in the course of conversation, he made the remark that the S. L. P. filled the places of the strikers in the time of the great strike in 1900. I made him sign his name. It was in the presence of a few stone-cutters here, who lately subscribed for The People and whose minds the Kangs want to poison.

Now, so far as I know the Kangs in New York never made that charge, much as they shouted about the Davis shop. On the contrary, I remember that the committee from Philadelphia, with Barnes, accused No. 90 of uselessly prolonging the strike. This fellow, Thomas Haynes, a man of about 55 or 60 years old, is a laborer, and seems to me a downright liar. He told me that he was in New York then and was on the Advisory Board, which I doubt very much, but he insisted that he tells the truth. He also told me that he believes Gompers is a scab. This he told me before he made the accusation against the S. L. P.; I suppose, to gain my confidence. He also told me, boasting, of course, about himself, that at one time the cigar-makers asked the Governor to appoint one Mike Raffael as Factory Inspector. Gompers, in spite of that, sent another man's name. They called on Gompers to come to a certain local in Brooklyn, and there this Thomas Haynes presented a resolution condemning Gompers for not presenting the name they wanted. Gompers' answer was that Mike Raffael was not a Tammany man, and none but a Tammany man could be appointed. I am writing all this so that if you show this to an old S. L. P. cigar-maker he may know the fellow.

I wish you would have his statement in The People, with an answer as to what there is of it.

Chas. Zolot.

Peekskill, N. Y., Aug. 19, 1903.

[Enclosure.]

I, Thomas Haynes, say, on this 18th day of August, 1903, that at the time of the cigar-makers' strike of 1900 the Socialist Labor Party helped to fill the places of men on strike. I sign my name to this.

T. Haynes.

Peekskill.

II.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—In reply to Thomas Haynes that the S. L. P. cigar-makers scabbed during the big strike of 1900, I have to say that, if he (Thomas Haynes) really was a member of the Joint Advisory Board at that time he knows full well that it was not the S. T. & L. A. nor the non-union cigar-makers who scabbed against the strikers, BUT THAT IT WAS THE MEMBERS OF THE CIGAR-MAKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION THEMSELVES WHO, BY THE GRACE, CONSENT AND WITH THE FULL KNOWLEDGE of the Joint Advisory Board (where Haynes claimed to be a delegate), were permitted to make cigars in the numerous "annexes" established by the lockout bosses all over Greater New York and elsewhere.

Was not this fact officially stated at a mass meeting of the cigar-makers of Philadelphia by Albert Marucek, the treasurer of the New York Joint Advisory Board? Did not this official statement cause a revolution there and cause several unions in Philadelphia to immediately stop the weekly strike per capita?

If Mr. Haynes does not remember and know this then he was not a delegate of the Advisory Board at all. Besides, it is not likely that a "hayseed" cigar-maker could come to New York during a big strike, where dollar bills float like snow flakes, and catch on. We have plenty of grafters here ourselves.

Finally, I can say that the International Cigar-makers Union never claimed that the S. T. & L. A. scabbed in the big strike. This is something new here, or the Kangaroos had let us know in their out-door meetings long ago. You may ask Haynes if he knows of any more damnable scabbing than the above mentioned committed by the members of the International Union.

Haynes is either a liar or a bluffer, or both.

Cigar-Makers.

New York, Aug. 26, 1903.

LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

A. L., NEW YORK—Never place your confidence in a man beyond your control. The best, once he is on your back, forthwith undergoes a fatty degeneration of his moral purpose. It is unimaginable that the Socialist Republic will have officials whom a majority vote can not at any time recall.

E. W. D., NEW YORK—Deville's "Peoples Marx" is an excellent condensation of "Capital;" the English translation issued by the International Publishing Co. is good. You can get it at the Labor News Co.

E. F., NEW YORK—Say that a capitalist realizes both the wrongfulness of capitalism and the soundness of Socialism. Say that he argues this way: "If I give up my business and stop fleecing the workingman there is no help for it but I must become a workingman myself, get fleeced and starve. I shall keep on with my factory. I shall treat my workingmen as gently as my competing capitalists allow me, and I shall use the surplus that I get from my workingmen, after defraying my own frugal expenses, in seeking to overthrow this capitalist system. I shall buy and distribute Socialist Labor Party literature; I shall support that Party's propaganda, and I shall even join its ranks as member." The S. L. P. would surely accept him as a member, and, so long as he acts upon the class lines of the working class to abolish capitalism, the Party will even bestow praise upon him. Anything wrong in that? Surely not! Say, then, that such a capitalist member one day changes his conduct. Begins to bully his employees; spends large amounts of his profits in debauchery; in short, ceases to act upon the class lines of the working class and begins to give a loose to the capitalist's instincts. Say, then, that the S. L. P. kicks the fellow out, and points the finger of scorn at him as a capitalist—as surely the Party would. Is there anything wrong in that? He who would say: "You knew I was a capitalist before and now of a sudden you twit me with being one" would simply show that he is a rogue with the intellectual spirit of the swindler who deals in gold bricks. Look out for such fellows. The identical argument holds good on other lines.

A. Z., NEW YORK—This office has the manifesto issued by the Teller County, Colorado organization of the so-called Socialist Party, protesting against that party's corruption and treason to the working class. The report of it in "The Worker" was garbled. That paper, being the private property of a corporation, expurgated all the passages that did not suit it. It, for instance, expurgated the Teller County protest against and condemnation of "privately owned sheets."

C. A. S., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—There are in continental United States 23,666,836 unmarried males; 13,956,314 married males; 1,178,068 widowers; 84,237 divorced males. The figures for females are: 20,491,042 single; 13,813,787 married; 2,717,830 widowed; 114,077 divorced.

A. J. S., SANTA MONICA, CAL.—Appendix to article came too late.

C. R., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Morris Eichmann may have been a member of the S. L. P. at one time. If, while a member, he had accepted any capitalist political pap he would have been expelled on the spot. Whether the gentleman is still a member of the S. D. P. we know not. What we do know is that the S. D. P. pronounced our expose of the gentleman "a Daily People lie," until The Daily People rammed the lie back into their throats, and under the lashing, Eichmann came out in the Hoboken "Observer" with statements that his running on the capitalist tickets and the S. D. P. ticket simultaneously was done with the knowledge, consent and approval of his fellow S. D. P.'s.

J. C., NEW YORK.—Your article was received, and its receipt acknowledged in the usual place, bottom of this column. It is awaiting its turn.

A. L., CHICAGO, ILL.—The same report appeared in the New York papers. It is quite possibly true. Quite possibly the Spanish Socialists found the leap too high from a feudal-clerical monarchy to the Socialist Republic and decided to join forces with the Republicans so as first to overthrow the impediment. Similar things will be and are happening almost all over Europe. It is almost inevitable.

E. F. F., BOSTON, MASS.—It is a necessity of the situation to scatter the leaflet "The Difference" together with the Party's agitational and educational literature. Otherwise S. L. P. agitation will be captured by the bogus party. The masses must be warned.

M. D. H., NEW HAVEN, CONN.—The circular of the Corporations Auxiliary Company, quoted in the Whiton pamphlet, and making out that there is imminent danger of the A. F. of L. being captured by Socialism, is merely an alarmist squid to get customers. The Corporations Auxiliary Co. knows that "the radical Socialist" Max Hayes" voted for the "agent conservateur" Gompers for President.

T. O. B., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—These "agents conservateurs," whom the Corporations Auxiliary Company place in the labor organizations, say: "Don't go to extremes, the capitalists are not all bad." The Kangaroo Social Democrats, alias "Socialist" party folks say: "Don't go to extremes, these agents conservateurs are not all corrupt." The connecting links are obvious.

F. H., CLEVELAND, O.—Quite plain. He who in Germany wants a republic, hating the monarchic form of government, justly votes the Soc. Dem. ticket. None of the so-called radical or liberal bourgeois parties proposes the abolition of the monarchy. In that lies one of the dangers that beset the Social Democracy, and why it is being turned from its original Socialist route. Such accretions don't bring strength to it; they bring weakness. Visionaries may not see it, and fakirs may refuse to see it, but it is so. It is a positive misfortune that Germany has no Republican bourgeois party. That explains why the "dissatisfied" and yet non-Socialist element votes the Social Democratic ticket.

C. F. C., TRENTON, N. J.—How you talk! Charity! Capitalist charity! "Comfortable, even luxurious homes for aged poor!" This is like giving a man nuts when his teeth are gone.

A. M., NEW HAVEN, CONN.—These are matters you must inquire about with your State Committee.

C. A. C., DENVER, COLO.; A. J. J., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.; D. A., CHICAGO, ILL.; E. F., COLUMBUS, O.; J. P. F., WASHINGTON, D. C.; D. R., LONDON, ONT.—Matter received.

MASSACHUSETTS CAUCUSES, CONFERENCE AND CONVENTION.

The caucuses of the Socialist Labor Party will be held on September 21, the state conference on September 27, and the state convention on September 28. Calls for the conference and caucuses will be sent out at once, and every section is asked to see that it is represented at both the conference and convention.

Sections Everett, Boston, Lynn, Pittsfield and Springfield have failed to send the names of members of their several sections as required. This must be done at once, as it is a constitutional provision.

Michael T. Berry,
Secretary Mass. S. E. C.

CLEVELAND SECTION.

The regular monthly meeting of Section Cleveland, O., will be held on Sunday, September 6, at the usual place of meeting, No. 356 Ontario street.

All members who have not yet voted upon the Everett proposition will at that meeting have the last opportunity.

All comrades who have pledged a certain number of signatures to our nomination petition should make report as to the number on hand. This is important; and, if any should be prevented from attending the meeting he should report by mail to the undersigned.

John D. Goerke, Organizer.
No. 379 Kinsman street.

KING'S OUTING POSTPONED.

The picnic of the Kings County Committee, Socialist Labor Party, is postponed on account of the weather until Sunday, Sept. 6, 10 a. m. (next Sunday). All party members who have sold tickets will please notify those to whom the tickets were sold. By order of the Finance Committee.

A. Ruhnke, Organizer.

Workingmen's Mutual Sick and Benevolent Society meets every first and third Wednesday at 501 East Eighty-second street

THE SMALL STORES

Manufacturers and Trusts Dominate Them—Prospects of the Clerks.

Despite the fact that the commercial magazines are publishing reports and interviews with leading merchants showing an increase in the volume of business over the corresponding months of last year, there is, to the knowledge of the writer, a general feeling of uneasiness among the merchants of this city; more particularly among the small shopkeepers situated along the avenues in working-class districts. The proprietors of the department stores are uneasy because they cannot quickly enough, by lying advertisements, absorb the business that is still being transacted by smaller stores, while the smaller storekeepers are uneasy because they have all they can do to keep their heads above water.

Having the confidence of some of the "stars" in the business world and being a member of the Socialist Labor Party, I can understand the stratagems by which the upper capitalist class seek to maintain their supremacy. That the days of the small shopkeepers are numbered is an established fact with an S. L. P. member. But I had occasion in the last few days to learn from a very good source what enables the middle-class middle-man to still do business at the old stand in face of all the obstacles and fierce competition on the part of his brother capitalist of a higher degree. In the course of a conversation which I had with a member of a very large concern, manufacturing a standard brand of shirts and collars, he told me the following relative to small shopkeepers.

"The small dealer is not anything permanent. If he still exists it is because we (meaning the wholesalers) keep him in existence. They are all under our control and domination.

"A good many of them that we do business with have not settled their bills in full for the fall of 1902. Taking in consideration the depressing effects, the numerous strikes and bad weather had upon business in general this year I do not know what's going to become of them. Of course," said he, "the large stores can stand it, but I doubt whether a good many of the storekeepers along Third, Sixth and Eighth avenues have paid their rents for July not to say anything of August." He added: "If we allow them to run on without pressing our claims upon them, it is because we make large profits."

Here the man with whom I was conversing quoted a certain lot number of a standard one dollar shirt for which the concern for whom I am working (six stores in the city) pays $7.50 per dozen. "We get $9 from the small dealers. You see," says he, "they are all willing to keep up as long as they can and we allow them to pay us in dribs and drabs. It is a good thing for both of us."

When I called his attention to the development of department stores—to the large addition in Wanamaker's, to the increase in size of stores belonging to the Dry Goods Trust: Simpson & Crawford, Adams Dry Goods Co., H. O'Neil, McCreery, and the new Siegel Fourteenth street store, also the newly organized Dry Goods Co., Gimbel Bros., with a capital of $10,000,000, doing business in Milwaukee, occupying ten acres of floor space and in Philadelphia occupying twenty-three acres of floor, who have intentions of opening the largest department stores in the world, right in the heart of this city and elsewhere—he answered: "Under these circumstances it will be useless to give these small men any backing."

A member of a large Broadway hat concern told me practically the same thing. "The small stores are but our agencies. We can shut 'em up whenever we want to. It pays us to keep them in existence because to them we can sell goods at our price, to the large and richer concerns we must sell at their price. Besides they do a certain amount of business every year."

It is a well known fact and an open secret in retaildom that a good many young men with very small capital are started out by large manufacturing and jobbing concerns, but from close observation one is forced to conclude that they are not as well off as some wage workers. The H. B. Claflin Co., who are the heart and soul of the Dry Goods Trust, are holding mortgages over a good many small shopkeepers. They go about it in this manner: Mr. Einstein or Weinstein has $200 to $300 in the bank. Merchandise to the amount of double the sum he possesses is given him. Small manufacturers and jobbers eager to sell their goods to most anybody, not being able to sell cheap enough to large concerns for cash, are drawn in for a few hundred dollars by this same Einstein or Weinstein, his references as to financial standing being O. K. at H. B. Claflin, who, in return, hold a mortgage on his stock, which amounts to say one thousand or fifteen hundred dollars. The understanding is, of course, that H. B. Claflin receive the biggest share of moneys taken in over his counter daily. It is not exaggerating the fact when I say that the wholesaler is paid in full with Einstein's original capital. Everything after that is profit.

But of late the H. B. Claflin Co. (The Dry Goods Trust), has gone in the retail business extensively, spreading its wings over the United States. The Dry Goods Trust has branches in other cities besides New York, and it is only a matter of time when they will do business in every large city in this country.

The advantages of having branch stores in various localities and towns are incalculable. When a certain style of merchandise does not sell well in one place it does in another. A constant interchange of stock lists and statements are being circulated between the various stores belonging to the same corporation. In one store, however, large as it may be, certain goods become at times undesirable, and the sustaining of losses is inevitable. But to go back to the methods of the rich wholesale concerns: their ways of doing business with the small shopkeepers is confiscation, pure and simple. When they start a young man in business with a small capital they know full well the chances of success are not worth a pinch of snuff, but that does not bother our worthy capitalist, he knows full well that the game is "Tail I win, head you lose;" still these same people have the audacity to stand up and talk about "confiscation" to the members of the Socialist Labor Party.

It is not my object to here describe the "pitiful" condition of the small retailers. It is their choice to enter Hell and I think we ought to let them burn. Besides if by accident they happen to work their way up the ladder of the capitalist class they forget all about the persecution their small brother capitalist has to undergo, and join hands with the upper capitalist in robbing the working-class of their products. It is my intention mainly to call the attention of my fellow workingmen in the same pursuit of a livelihood that I am in—the clerks in all branches of the business—to the futility of striving in the direction that our fathers used to.

Think of it, men! Am I right or wrong, when I say that, in the next few years, the retail business will be developed to the same extent that the railroads are? Which of the railroad employees would to-day think of going in the railroad business? If you are content to remain working for "good" salaries, remember you are mere wage-slaves, bought and sold in the labor market the same as any commodity that you retail over the bosses' counter. And when you become old, or rather when you reach middle age can no longer respond with alertness to the shout of the floorwalker—"Forward! front! The gentleman is in a hurry!" Then you can stand in line at Fleischman's and receive a loaf of bread for yourself and family. For surely, our "salary" is in no case large enough to allow us to save enough to keep us in comfort after we can no longer work.

I am not appealing to you men to study the aims and objects of the Socialist Labor Party because I am a "crank," nor am I writing this message to you this night after having worked twelve hours because I have any love for you. I am doing it because I realize how little I can do single handed for my class—the working-class—of which I am a member. I ask you to come with me and join the ranks of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. I ask you to vote the straight ticket of the Socialist Labor Party on election day and join its ranks. I ask you to study our literature and order The Daily People from your newsdealer at a cent a copy daily and two cents on Sunday. Not because we want your pennies but because it is necessary for all us workingmen to have a clear understanding of our mission in this world.

The social revolution is knocking at the doors of modern society—awaiting but the answer of the working-class to bid welcome. It is a grand work that I am asking you to undertake. Far more nobler than lying in order to make a "spiff!" Our descendants will be prouder to speak of us as the men of the revolution than as a lying clerk.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not preaching morality of the capitalist sort. I do not tell you to quit lying for a living and get a pair of wings and a Bible—no, not at all! But I do want you to realize the nasty position we are in. We lie, we cheat, we misrepresent, for whom? For the bosses, that they may be able to live in luxury, while we are in constant fear of our job and in misery! There is enough for all! The inventive genius of the working-class has made it possible to produce enough for all. But your boss, whom you vote in power from year to year, owns the means of production and distribution, and, consequently, although we produce the wealth, they own it. And we receive but a small share of our own products called wages.

For God's sake men stop it! Stop that division of our products. To us belongs all we produce. Make up your mind that you are going to investigate what I say to you by reading and thinking for yourself. Pin upon your breast the closing words of the communist manifesto—"Workingmen of all countries unite! You have naught to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain."

A. O.

FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS
An Old and Well-Tried Remedy.
MRS WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP
has been used for over SIXTY YEARS by MILLIONS of MOTHERS for their CHILDREN WHILE TEETHING, WITH PERFECT SUCCESS. It SOOTHES the CHILD, SOFTENS the GUMS, ALLAYS all PAIN; CURES WIND COLIC, and is the best remedy for DIARRHOEA. Sold by Druggists in every part of the world. Be sure and ask for
MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP,
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Twenty-Five Cents a Bottle.

REMEMBER
"MOZLE"
CIGARETTES

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, C. A. Weitzel, 236½ Dundas street, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)
Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Regular meeting held on August 28, at 2-6 New Reade street, A. Gillhaus in the chair. The financial report showed receipts $43.51; expenditures, $40.75. J. Hammer and A. Klein were absent without excuse.

Communications—From E. C. Dieckmann, St. Louis, Mo., a letter stating that owing to serious sickness of his father he is unable to leave and therefore compelled to withdraw his acceptance of the managership of The People. From Hoboken, N. J., reporting suspension of O. Castillo. From Bridgeport, Conn., with vote on Everett proposition and explaining that many members had not voted at all. From Manhattan, Kans., asking for literature, particularly such as would define the difference between the Socialist Labor Party and the S. D. P., the so-called Socialist Party. From Los Angeles, Cal., reporting that a comrade had been permanently hired by the Section to push the work of the Party. From California S. E. C., sending copy of report to the Party in the State and remitting on Auxiliary League pledge for the members at large. From Chicago, Ill., by a New York comrade temporarily located there, reporting an amusing set-to with a bevy of Kangaroos. From Manchester, Va., upon a variety of matters; also making complaint about typographical errors in Weekly People. From Comrade H. J. Poelling, St. Louis, Mo., a letter dated at Buffalo, N. Y., expressing regret because unable to come to New York, and stating that on the way home he will visit and speak in several Ohio towns.

Section Minneapolis, Minn., reported expulsion of Thomas Van Lear for doing active work for the Kangaroo Party and for accepting office in a pure and simple (machinists) union. From San Francisco, Cal., sending sub. for Weekly People and reporting work for Party press in the State. From sympathizer in Columbus, Ohio, promising to take a loan certificate on Daily People debt in the near future. Section Indianapolis, Ind., Salem, Mass., and Peoria, Ill., report election of officers. Adams, Mass., sent word that local work is made very difficult by prevailing conditions, and that the apparent apathy of some members make it harder still. Rhode Island S. E. C. sent several communications upon the subject of providing speaker and organizer for a tour in October. Comrade James Connolly, of Dublin, Ireland, in a letter dated at Glasgow, Scotland, reports that the S. L. P. of England and Scotland is making fine headway; he also states that he will sail for America on September 18 and will remain permanently in this country, intending to pursue the calling of a linotype machinist-operator for a livelihood.

Elmer F. Claflin, and Arthur E. Bloxom, both of Perkinsville, Vt., made application for membership at large and were admitted. Application for membership at large from James Kesley, Springfield, Vt., was laid over because of its incompleteness and Secretary instructed to send another application blank. From St. Paul, Minn., acknowledging receipt of letter of N. E. C.

"Resolved, To issue call for nomination for a delegate to represent the S. L. P. at the next National convention of the S. T. & L. A., said nominations to close four weeks from date.

The National Secretary, in his capacity of manager of The People, reported that the loan certificate movement, which went along quite well for a time and enabled him to meet obligations on the plant as fast as they fell due, appears to have slacked up, making it impossible for him to properly handle matters and producing a most embarrassing situation.

"Resolved, To issue a call in conjunction with Daily People Finance Committee and urge prompt and unremitting action."

Votes reported on the Everett proposition since last meeting run as follows: All against and none in favor, Los Angeles, Cal., 33; Syracuse, N. Y., 25; Lynn, Mass., 23; Salem, Mass., 8; Richmond County, N. Y., 0; Adams, Mass., 7; West Superior, Wis., 6; Peoria, Ill., 9; Fall River, Mass., 5; East St. Louis, Ill., 3; Columbus, O., 6; Cincinnati, O., 7. Additional report, Hartford, Conn., 13 against. Mixed reports, partly in favor and partly against, Marion, Ind., 1 for, 6 against; Bridgeport, Conn., 1 for, 4 against; Denver, Colo., 1 for, 19 against; San Antonio, Texas, 1 for, 10 against. Member at large. In California, 1 for, 3 against; in Connecticut, 4 against; in Utah, 1 against; in Michigan, 4 against; in Ohio, 1 against; in Texas, 2 against; in Colorado, one member voting for on questions 2 and 3, and against in question 1, a total of 6 for and 208 against. Reported before, 29 for and 141 against. Total to date, 35 for and 349 against.

Edward C. Schmidt,
Recording Secretary.

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS.

The Sections of the Socialist Labor Party are herewith called upon to make nominations for a delegate to represent the Socialist Labor Party at the National Convention of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, to be held at Newark, N. J.

All nominations must be in on or before September 30, 1903.

For the National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party,

Henry Kuhn,
National Secretary.

MEETINGS IN LOWELL.

Organizer W. H. Carroll, of the Socialist Labor Party of Massachusetts, will speak every evening this week, weather permitting, at 8 o'clock, at the corner of Ann and Merrimack streets, and on September 6 at 3 o'clock p. m. a mass meeting will be held in Loom-Fixers' Hall to organize a local of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Organizer Stephen Surridge and other Lynn speakers will also address this meeting.

Joseph F. Malloney will probably speak on the South Common on Labor Day. Workingmen of Lowell, this is your opportunity to hear good Socialist speakers.

Joseph Youngjohns,
Organizer Section Lowell, Mass.

S. T. & L. A NEWS

The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada: headquarters, Nos. 2, 4 and 6 New Reade Street, N. Y. City.
General Executive Board meets the second and fourth Thursday evenings of each month, at 7:30 o'clock, at above address.
All information as to organization and aims and objects of the S. T. & L. A. will be gladly sent by mail on request.
Speakers will be furnished to address labor and trade organizations, as well as sections of the S. L. P., on new trades unionism.
Address all communications to John J. Kinneally, general secretary, 2, 4, and 6 New Reade street, New York City.

D. A. NO. 49, S. T. & L. A.

Regular meeting of District Alliance 49 was called to order on Thursday evening, August 20, by Vice-President Max Unger, as per instructions of the General Executive Board. The Vice President read a communication from the G. E. B. notifying the District of the action in relation to removal of District officers, John F. Martin and Wm. L. Brower, and declaring null and void nominations for candidates for delegates to National Convention made by members of the District on Tuesday, August 11. On call for election of Recording Secretary pro tem., A. Francis, delegate from S. L. P., was nominated and elected

After reading of credentials of new delegates, the following were seated: From L. A. 252, E. C. Schmidt, in place of John F. Martin, who was withdrawn by said local; from L. A. 140, S. J. Freich, vice Wm. Chambers, resigned; from L. A. 1563, Victor Funke; L. A. 42, Peter Jacobson, J. Alfred Orme and Albert Swanson; L. A. 274, Edward McCormick and Richard Gaffney.

The motion being made to concur in the action of the G. E. B. as described in its communication to the District, Delegate W. L. Brower arose to protest against the endorsing of the Board's action by the D. A. Being instructed to put his protest in writing and turn it in to the secretar yof the meeting, the delegate failed to do so, but was given the floor to explain his reasons for protesting against endorsing the action of the G. E. B., whereby he had been removed from the office of Organizer, Secretary and Financial Secretary-Treasurer of the D. A. This the delegate did, basing his articles upon technical interpretations of certain clauses in the Constitution which he claimed empowered him and the late District President to follow the course they had pursued in relation to Locals 141, 1563 and 42.

Delegate French being granted the floor to reply to Brower, stated the position of the General Executive Board in the matter and explained at some length the developments of the past year which he claimed led up to the occurrences of recent date, which culminated in the action taken by the G. E. B. at its last regular meeting. The whole question was gone over in the general discussion which ensued, and part in which was taken by Delegates Gilhaus, McCormick and Gaffney of 274, Olsen and Hanlon of 1563, Winauer, Francis and Crawford of the S. L. P.; Kinneally and French of 140, Unger and Weisberger of 141, Jacobson of 42, Bolz of 390, Brower of 2394, and most of the other delegates present, after which the motion to concur was passed by a vote of 22 to 4, the three delegates of the L. A. 290 and Schroeder of 170 voting in the negative, all others affirmative, Wm. L. Brower refusing to vote.

Ex-President John F. Martin, who was present, claimed the right to the floor as a matter of courtesy to explain his position. This was objected to by some delegates, who claimed to have been unceremoniously ruled out by him on the night of August 11, and the contention made that Martin should be shown the same sort of courtesy. On motion of A. Gilhaus, Martin was granted the floor for 10 minutes. His main contention seeming to be that the Alliance is working under the Constitution adopted at the Providence Convention. He was reminded that the amendments adopted by referendum after last convention, having been published in the official organ, had become operative from that time.

On motion the regular order of business was suspended and the matter of electing officers taken up. A motion was put and carried rescinding all former motions and resolutions relating to conferring several offices upon one person. A motion to abolish the offices of permanent President and Vice-President and instead to elect a Chairman and Vice-Chairman from the floor at each meeting of the D. A. was also carried. The following officers were then elected: Organizer, James Hanlon; Recording Secretary, Irving H. Weisberger; Financial Secretary, Peter Jacobson; Treasurer, E. C. Schmidt.

Wm. L. Brower was withdrawn from the organization committee and a motion made to fill the vacancy, which was amended that the committee consist of five, the latter being again amended that it be increased to nine, which prevailed. It was also voted that three members be selected from Manhattan, 3 from Brooklyn, 2 from the Bronx and 1 from Yonkers. The following are the members of the new Organization Committee: Manhattan, A. Francis, of L. A. 390; S. Winauer, of 270, and Max Unger, of 141. Brooklyn, H. Kober and E. C. Schmidt, of 252, and O. Bisch, of 170. Bronx, John Scherer and Wm. Kessler, of 140. Yonkers, Ricalrd Gaffney, of L. A. 42.

Peter Jacobson being now Financial Secretary, H. Deutch was unanimously chosen to fill his place upon the Auditing Committee.

Nominations for candidates for delegates to National Convention resulted in the following being nominated: Kinneally, Gilhaus, French, Weisberger, De Leon ask if they accept nomination. As alternates Unger, Francis and Scherer were nominated.

In was voted that in future the minutes of all meetings of D. A. be published in the Daily and Weekly People. Communication submitted by A. Francis was laid on the table.

Shortly before adjournment, John J. Kinneally congratulated the delegates on the revolutionary steps taken to put the D. A. in shape and get it in proper trim for carrying on the work for which it was organized, and urged the members to keep up their fighting spirit and arouse themselves to energetic action in behalf of the Alliance, and push the good work along until the D. A. had reached the standard it ought to attain if its members exert themselves as is their duty. The meeting adjourned at midnight after a long session.

A. Francis, Rec. Sec. pro tem.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To All Local Alliances of D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A.: The headquarters of D. A. 49 will be open the first and third Thursday of every month from 7:30 to 10 p. m. All L. A.s wishing to procure stamps or pay moneys to the District Alliance are hereby notified.

Peter Jacobson,
Financial Secretary D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A.

OHIO $425 FUND.

MacIntyre, Cleveland, O., $1; A. Nesbit, Bellaire, O., 50c; total, $1.50.

LECTURES IN MINNEAPOLIS.

A series of lectures, under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party, will be given by Mrs. Olive M. Johnson at Labor Lyceum, 36 Washington avenue South, Minneapolis.

1. Sunday, Sept. 6—"Social Evolution."
2. Sunday, Sept. 13—"The Development of Capitalism."
3. Sunday, Sept. 20—"The Development of Socialism."
4. Sunday, Sept. 27—"The Modern Class Struggle and the Socialist Republic."

Lectures commence at 3 p. m. sharp. Admission free. Everybody welcome. After lecture questions and discussion, open to everybody.

Lectures in this hall, by various speakers and on various subjects, will continue throughout the season.

S. L. P. reading room at Labor Lyceum open day and evening.

PAUL DE LEON.

Word has been received at The Daily People office of the accidental death at Milford, Conn., last Sunday of Paul De Leon, the three-year-old son of Daniel De Leon. No details were given. The news came as a painful shock. Sympathy was expressed on all sides for Comrade De Leon. The blow is a severe one to himself and wife, both of whom are noted for the love they bear their children, the bonds between them being of the most affectionate and devoted character.

* * *

The reported invasion of the steel and iron markets of this country by the Krupp Company, of Germany, is regarded with a great deal of interest. From a free-trade standpoint such an invasion will be welcome, but it is hardly likely to prove successful. The odds, in the form of superior technique, greater capital and natural resources, in favor of the Steel Trust and the Independents, are too great for the Krupp Company to overcome. The invasion cannot, however, fail to prove instructive. It proves that competition moves higher up, involving the greater capitalists and industry in a struggle that can only eventuate in still greater capitalists and industries yet, until finally, Socialism becomes inevitable.

CURRENT COMMENT

Two items, closely related, yet appearing in different pages, could be found in Monday's newspapers. One was headed and read as follows:

"WRIGHT'S DECISION THIS WEEK."

"Scranton, Pa., Aug. 30.—President W. L. Connell, of the Miners' Concilation Board, reached home to-day. He said: 'When the matters in dispute between the operators and the miners were submitted to the umpire, Carroll D. Wright, and full explanations were given him, he gave no hint as to what conclusions might be arrived at, nor did we expect him to. He did promise, however, that he would announce his decision as quickly as possible, and we have reason to hope the awards will be in our hands when we meet at Pottsville on Thursday next.'

"The miners of the Lackawanna region are disturbed about an effort that has been made to re-establish the contract system here."

The other was headed and read as follows:

"ANTHRACITE CORPORATIONS
CURTAILING THE OUTPUT."

"Stocks on Hand Are 10,000,000 Tons Ahead of Any Previous Eight Months' Record—2,000,000 Tons of Small Sizes.

"Pottsville, Pa., Aug. 30.—The production of 40,000,000 tons of anthracite coal since January 1 last, fully 10,000,000 tons more than the average output for those months in years heretofore, is the cause of the stagnation of the coal trade which has caused the issuing of orders all through the region curtailing the output.

"The Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron Company has closed every one of its washeries, which produce small sizes, and other corpor[illegible] and individual operators have fo[illegible] suit. It is estimated that there are fully 2,000,000 tons of small sizes now in stock for which there is little demand.

"The policy of the coal corporations is not a general suspension of the collieries unless the coal trade shall become worse. But it is a possibility if the demand remains as slack as it has been during August."

Putting these two items together, one is inclined to ask, what do they mean? Are the miners to be given a favorable decision at a season when it would have no value for them? Or are they to be given an unfavorable decision at a time when they are unable to make an effective demonstration in retaliation—that is, strike?

* * *

The reported combination of light, power and transportation plants of this city, backed by "Standard Oil interests," makes fascinating reading, owing to its colossal proportions and the vast enterprises involved. But a recital of all the companies and corporations owned and controlled by the "Standard Oil interests" would make far more fascinating reading, for then proportions were more colossal, and enterprises even were more vast, would be disclosed. Such a recital would be a definition of "Standard Oil interests" that would stagger the ordinary reader. The "Standard Oil interests" would then be found to mean a comparatively few men controlling national governments and billions of capital; men whose power surpasses the dreams of Caesar and Napoleon in its extent and effectiveness.

* * *

What next will socialism be charged with? A man out in Iowa writes a letter to the Sun on divorce. Says he: "The Sioux City Journal records thirty-seven divorce suits for the approaching term of court. This cancer in the family circle, this dangerous socialism, ought to be denounced by every reputable paper." How the simple demand for the social ownership of capital can be made responsible for capitalist divorce, passeth the understanding of everybody but that Iowan, and possibly the fool editor of the Sun.

AN "EXCELLENT SPEAKER."

To the Daily and Weekly People—The enclosed clipping will hardly give a correct idea so I supplement it with an explanation. The local kangaroos advertised that "John Spargo (one of our comrades calls him 'Cousin Jack'), the best platform speaker) in the country will speak for the benefit of the Social Democratic Party."

They advertise in all kinds of ways. At one time they advertised that the "Hon. Ben Hanford, etc." I suppose the title "Hon." he got while serving on the Agitation Committee at $5 per at time of the "Sun" strike. Five dollars a day and expenses and no questions asked ought to give any body that title. If they could have only seen the "Hon. Ben" when he is on the trail of a good-sized jag. But this is another story.

Well, we took along a supply of "The Difference" and came to pay our respects to "Cousin Jack." Instead of that we found a soldier of the Salvation army.

By the way, the army is not strong here. I was told since one has been caught rushing the growler with a kerosine can, they have lost their reputation.

While standing there I noticed a few "alte genossen" and sick benefit stiffs listening attentively, one making the remark, "Ein ausgesiechenter specher" (an excellent speaker). They thought it was one of their dear reverends, or perhaps, they were deceived by the fact that speaker was a man (the Salvation army has no man speaker, usually a woman does the speaking; all on account, I suppose, of that catastrophe with kerosene can). Anyway, the alte gemessen were enjoying an "excellent speech."

On the other side of the street a couple of English speaking kangs were gazing with drooping heads into the darkness, waiting for "Cousin Jack." And when some time after nine o'clock he did arrive nary a single "alte genosse" or stiff, was there to listen to him. They went home satisfied they had heard an "excellent speech."

Charles Zolot.

Peekskill, N. Y., Aug. 19.

(Enclosure.)

Last evening John Spargo, of New York City, was to have spoken for the Social Democratic Party. A fair-sized crowd gathered to listen to the address, but after hearing the speaker talk for about half an hour they learned that the orator was a soldier of the Salvation Army. Mr. Spargo missed his train and did not arrive until after nine o'clock and delivered a short address.

* * *

Governor Odell's contention that trusts are more sinned against than sinning will cause the small producer and dealers whom they have forced out of business to grow demoralized and swear.

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2-6 New Reade Street, New York

PLATFORM SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American Republic, we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty, and of happiness.

With the founders of this Republic, we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and all of the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

CORREGAN IN WASHINGTON.

All readers of The Daily and Weekly People are invited to attend a mass meeting of the Socialist Labor Party to be held at Concordia Hall, corner Sixth and E streets N. W., Washington, D. C., on September 10. Charles H. Corregan, of New York, will be the speaker.

THE
MONTHLY
PEOPLE
FOR SEPTEMBER

should be extensively read and circulated. It will be out on the 7th inst.

The Canadian Wage-Workers.
Nobly Waging the Class Struggle.
The Boot and Shoe Worker.
The Small Stores.
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If you want a bundle of the Monthly People for propaganda work send in your order now, so you will be sure of getting it filled.

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It is sure to bear fruit by creating a desire for the Weekly and Daily People and the publications of the Labor News Company.

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should be read by every workman desirous of keeping posted on current events as viewed from a Socialist standpoint. It publishes news important to the working class with editorial reviews thereof and comments thereon. Its Sunday issue is noted for its many sound Socialist and scientific articles, upon a great variety of topics.

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Publishes documents of importance to the working class not to be had in other papers. Its pages are replete with information showing the worker his actual political and economic condition, and the remedy therefor. Its trade articles are especially useful in this respect.

THE WEEKLY PEOPLE

trade articles appeal to all the workers interested. In its issue of September 5, the trade article entitled "Nobly Waging the Class Struggle," and showing the internecine warfare of the various Trade Unions, will appear. It will be followed by the Conductors, Upholsterers, Retail Delivery Clerks, Barbers, Woodworkers, and others.

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The Scandinavian Socialist Club of Boston will hold its 16th

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IN THE BEAUTIFUL AMORY GROVE, ROXBURY,

LABOR DAY, MONDAY, SEPT. 7, 1903

FROM 10 A. M. TO 10 P. M.

Speeches will be delivered, in English by John R. Oldham of Lynn, Mass.; and in Swedish by G. Rudkvist of Boston.

Singing by the following Scandanavian Choruses: Socialist Singing Chorus, Scandanavian Singing Chorus, the North Pole Chorus of Evert, and Danish chorus Brage.

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TICKETS—GENTS, 50c. LADIES, 35c.
Children under 12 years, accompanied by guardians, free.

Take Jamaica Plain, Forest Hills-Colombus Ave., Franklin Park-Colombus Ave., and Amory Street cars to the grove.